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ABSTRACT

A total of 25 papers are included in the two issues of this series (12 in issue number 1; 13 in issue number 2), as follows: (1) "Recent Trends in Teacher Education in England" (V. McClelland); (2) "American Educational Reform: Is the Cure Worse Than the Disease" (R. Barger); (3) "Professional Attitudes" (G. Gaden); (4) "Lost in a Book" (T. Mullins); (5) "An Action Research Approach to Children's Literature" (B. Wortley); (6) "Subject Integration and Personal Development through a Non-Directive Investigative Group Project within an Undergraduate Management Program" (S. Fawcett; S. Laverty); (7) "Teacher Empowerment in a Curriculum Project" (D. Leonard); (8) "Music Standards and Dispositions of Students Entering a College of Education" (B. Spelman; M. Killeavy); (9) "A Comparison of the Cognitive Demands Made by the Integrated Science Curriculum Innovation Project with Those Made by Its Written Examination for the Intermediate Certificate of Education" (M. O'Maoldomhnaigh; S. O'Bealain); (10) "Computers in Primary Education" (G. Enright); (11) "The Dimensions of Mathematical Giftedness" (E. O'Chriagain); (12) "Making Sense of Condoned Absenteeism: Parents' and Pupils' View" (L. Caul; J. Harbison); (13) "Governesses, Tutors, and Parents: Domestic Education in Ireland, 1700-1880" (J. Logan); (14) "Teacher Education: The Collapse of Its All-Ireland Dimensions in 1922" (S. Farren); (15) "Developing the History Curriculum in the Primary School, 1922-1986" (A. Motherway); (16) Alfred O'Rahilly: Pathfinder in Adult Education" (M. O'Murchu); (17) "Soviet Pedagogical Theory and Methodology, 1917-1980" (D. Hainsworth); (18) "The Background, Motivation, and Personality Characteristics of Two Groups of Student Teachers" (S. O'Connell); (19) "Personality Variables, Attitudes, and Attainments in Boys Aged 11-14" (J. Whyte); (20) "Education for the Labour Market: A Critique" (P. Geraghty); (21) "Transition from School to Work: Cohort Evidence from Northern Ireland on Post-Compulsory School Activities and Influencing Factors" (L. McWhirter; And Others); (22) "Thoughts on Discipline in Our Schools" (D. Dunphy; And Others); (23) "Stress: Fact or Fiction? A Study of Perceived Stress in a Coeducational Second-Level School in Rural Ireland" (B. Barnicle); (24) "Values Clarification as a Methodology in Moral Education" (A. Breslin); and (25) "Traveller People and the Education System" (T. O'Briain). (JHP)

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VOL. 7 NO. 1 1988

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Professor Hugh Sockett, George Mason University, USA

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Notes on Contributors

Professor Vincent Al an McClelland is Professor and Dean of Education in the Department of Educational Studies, University of Hull, England.

Professor Robert N. Barger is Professor in the Department of Secondary Education and Foundations, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Illinois, USA, and was Visiting Professor during 1986-87 in the Education Department, University College Cork.

Dr Gerry Gaden is Lecturer in Education in University College Dublin where he is a specialist in the Philosophy of Education.

Mr Tom Mullins is Lecturer in Education, University College Cork.

Ms Beatrice Wortley is Lecturer in the Faculty of Education, Ulster University, Jordanstown, Co Antrim.

S. Lyn Fawcett and S.E. Laverty are Lecturers in the Department of Hotel and Catering Management, Ulster University, Jordanstown.

Mr Diarmuid Leonard is Head of Education, Thomond College of Education, Plassey, Limerick.

Dr Brendan Spelman is Deputy Head of Education and Ms Maureen Killeavey is Lecturer in Education in Our Lady of Mercy College, Carysfort, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

Mr Mícheál Ó Maoldomhnaigh and Mr Seán Ó Beoláin are Lecturers in Education, Thomond College of Education, Limerick.

Dr Gerry Enright is Lecturer in the Department of Mathematics and Computer Studies, Mary Immaculate College of Education, Limerick.

Mr Éamonn Ó Criagáin is Education Officer in the Education Department, Radio Telefis Eireann, Donnybrook, Dublin.

Mr Leslie Leslie Caul and Mrs Joan Harbison are Lecturers in Education, Stranmillis College of Education, Belfast.

General Editor's Comment

"It is through good education that all
the good in the world arises".

Immanuel Kant, Education, (1803)

Alfred North Whitehead once remarked that "The fading of ideals is sad evidence of the defeat of human endeavour".[1] It is saddening to witness the escalation of adversarial relationships between educators and the public at large with the Government Department of Education which has come about as a direct result of the present and previous governments decisions to gradually withdraw cherished resources from the education system.

There is growing apathy and the concomitant fading of ideals among teachers, administrators, pupils and parents, which has brought many of these participants into open conflict and protest with the Minister for Education. During the past year there have been a number of vicious cuts, and attempted cuts in resources, which if continued, will almost certainly wipe out the significant gains made by Irish education in the last cycle of curriculum reform, which I would date from the mid-1960's, thus signalling the end of initiative and experimentation. Gemma Hussey's Bill and advanced proposal for an independent and statutory Curriculum and Examinations Board has been defeated in the Dail, and we are left with an advisory body, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, in its place without the resources to accomplish its exciting brief.

Secondly, and perhaps more harmful, there are the various plans and policies aimed at withdrawing finances and human resources from the system. If we agree with Kant, then one cannot have quality education on a shoestring budget. My point is that the government ought to come to the realization that there are certain sectors of Irish life and culture which are vital and fundamental for the well-being of a civilized nation - these I would argue need to be seen as a "protected core" of our culture and they include health, education and welfare. Two populations are mainly concerned - the care of the young and the care of the old. It was Alexis de Tocqueville who commented that the eminence and well-being of a nation could be measured by the ways in which it made provision for the young and the old.

The "vision" which has fuelled the rigorous curriculum reform movement in Ireland and which has inspired such improvement in programmes and teacher development is fading. This new "vision" was evidenced by the kind of thinking contained in the introduction of the new primary curriculum, various new post-primary programmes and examinations, indeed, new types of post-primary schools, which have stressed the importance of a wider range of objectives such as personal development, thinking skills, creative abilities, inquiry learning, as well as traditional cognitive outcomes. Are these to be jettisoned in the name of "cost effectiveness"?

Our pupils are alive and curious. They need, and often request the knowledge and skills which we do not yet possess. This is a major plank in the argument for the promotion of inquiry learning in education. To my mind the purpose of education is to stimulate and facilitate self-development as much as it is to stimulate and guide teacher self-development within a profession. We must vigorously protest and resist policies designed to obscure our curricular "vision", consequently denying the very values and ideals which allow us to grow and improve our practice and educational programmes.

The choices seem to be that either educational policymakers seek to exert greater control by restricting the growth of personal autonomy by enacting cuts in programmes and thereby reducing opportunities for choice; or, they will seek to make curriculum and the opportunities for choice more available. Cutting teachers' jobs will have the negative result of limiting the subjects available in post-primary schools - particularly in the vocational sector where school populations are relatively small. Yet in the present situation it seems that the choice has been made to exact greater control by cutting resources, increasing the teacher-pupil ratio, and reducing curriculum choices and options. The alternative, and professional response, would be to seek improvement by developing support systems, improving inservice education and training, promoting collaboration between colleges and schools, and developing action research projects at grass roots level. To surrender the goals of self-development, autonomy and limited freedom enjoyed by the profession is to surrender something which may be irrecoverable, and which in the end will render the system mean, apathetic, moribund, and without the "vision" it so desperately requires.

After all the cuts in educational expenditure have been made, and the controversies have been debated, one startling fact shall remain - that educational policy has not been informed to any great extent by educational research. Few of the policymakers and some of their opponents have grounded their arguments in immaculate research data. It is high time they did. It is also time that the proper recognition and official support was given to educational research in Ireland.

Part of the new "extended professionalism" in education has been the adoption of a critical-reflective perspective towards teaching - in short, the adoption of a research stance towards practice. Improvements cannot often be made without engaging the understandings of the actors involved and exploring the constraints under which they labour. Volume 7, No. 1 contains twelve papers which examine a variety of issues addressing the concepts of "professionalism", "excellence", "empowerment", "curriculum" and "absenteeism".

The keynote invited paper is by Professor Al an McClelland, in which he shares some of the background trends to reform teacher education in the United Kingdom through the establishment of the new Council for Advice on Teacher Education (CATE). There is much that we can learn from CATE procedures - not least the opportunity to facilitate the return of teaching methods personnel to work in schools on a regular basis.

Professor Robert Barger has analysed American educational reports on "excellence", particularly A Nation at Risk, and he comes away with a healthy skepticism by posing the question "Is the cure worse than the disease?"

Dr Gerry Gaden continues the theme of "professionalism" by offering a penetrating philosophical analysis of the concept and nature of what counts as a "professional attitude".

Mr Tom Mullins gives us a fascinating account of what it means to be "lost in a book" and takes to task some contemporary commentators who see sex stereotyping around every bend in the world of children's literature - his point about Alice in Wonderland as Alice in Genderland is nicely cautionary.

The notion of the extended professional is further enhanced with the work of Ms Beatrice Wortley, who describes an action research approach to the teaching of reading and children's literature.

S. Lyn Fawcett and S.E. Laverty discuss the use of non-directive project work at third level in Northern Ireland.

Diarmuid Leonard examines the notion of personal expowerment in the curriculum improvement process - an often neglected and reported phenomenon.

Several papers focus on curriculum issues. Dr Brendan Spelman and Ms Maureen Killeavey examine music standards and dispositions of a college cohort in a College of Education with special reference to interests, achievements, knowledge and background in music.

Mr Micheál Ó Maoldomhnaigh and Mr Seán Ó Beoláin conduct a study of the cognitive demands of the Integrated Science Curriculum Inquiry Project (ISCIP) course, and its allied examination to determine fidelity between course content and the evaluation of course objectives through summative examinations.

Dr Gerry Enright offers a useful introduction to the use of computers in the primary curriculum by discussing language, and software packages.

Mr Éamonn Ó Criagáin presents an empirical survey of the characteristics of the mathematically "gifted" and "able" pupil, and offers a number of criteria for the identification of such pupils.

Finally, Mr Leslie Caul and Mrs Joan Harbison extend our under-standing of the concept of condoned absenteeism by describing the results of a survey of absentees in Northern schools.

Volume 7 of Irish Educational Studies marks a transition for the Journal, by moving from traditional typescript to computer word processing and laser printing as a method of preparing copy for the printers. This is only a small achievement, but a significant step forward in terms of quality. The Editor wishes to thank members of the Editorial Board and external referees and readers for their generous assistance in preparing this volume. The final responsibility for any errors in the text rests with the Editor.

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[1] Alfred North Whitehead. The Aims of Education (London: Ernest Benn, 1932) Fifth impression, 1962, p. 45.

Dr Jim McKernan,
General Editor, Irish Educational Studies,
Education Department,
Arts/Commerce/Law Building,
University College Dublin,
March, 1988.

Irish Educational Studies, Vol.7, No.1, 198

Invited Address

RECENT TRENDS IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

Professor V A McClelland[1]

Looking around the hall this evening I see the faces of many old friends, some of them former colleagues, a number of them my previous students, and, indeed one or two of them my current students and the knowledge that this would be go greatly enhanced the pleasure I experienced when receiving the invitation to this Association, of which I have been a member since its inception, to open the 12th Annual Conference. It is truly heartwarming for me to be part of such a congenial gathering. But it is also an occasion tinged with some sadness when I realize my old friend Professor Seamus O Suilleabhain is no longer present with us. May he rest in peace!

I have been asked to speak about recent trends in teacher education in England and I do so with some sense of the relevance of that topic for Ireland today as it too initiates, with the special study about to be undertaken by the O.E.C.D., a re-examination of its own provision and structures in the matter of teacher education, professional training and supply. There are some recent developments in England in this regard worthy of emulation, but there is certainly some element of encagement which I hope Ireland will eschew.

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[1] I am grateful to Professor William Taylor, C.B.E. for his help with understanding the early history and composition of CATE, and for allowing me to see a copy of an article about to be published by him.

It is now some three years since the Secretary of State for Education and for Wales, impelled by the consequences of teacher contraction in the seventies as a result of the falling birth rate, and by the effects of economic recession and monetary contraction, issued a Government White Paper called 'Teaching Quality', in which they expressed an intention to promulgate specific criteria in regard to the organization and future conduct of initial teacher training courses in England and Wales. These criteria would have to be satisfied in future if courses were to receive ministerial approval. All existing teacher education courses in public sector institutions and universities whether oriented to the primary or to the secondary sector were to be reviewed within a period of three years - as it has turned out an unduly optimistic view of time-scale. To assist the Ministers in this process, a body was established known as the Advisory Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education Courses, which soon adopted the disarmingly benign acronym, CATE. This body was placed under the Chairmanship of Professor William Taylor, currently the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hull but then Principal of London University. Reflecting the wider concerns of the policy of 'value for money' and 'accountability' -ideas dear to the heart of Margaret Thatcher - and sensitive to the criticisms of politicians and industrialists about the relevance of the curriculum for the modern world and the nature of the predominant methodology adopted in schools, it was decided that CATE should not be a merely representative body. When it met for the first time in the autumn of 1984, therefore, it was made up of four schoolteachers, four members with LEA connections, three with affinity to public sector institutions, three university people, one of whom was from an Education department, two industrialists, a Chief Inspector from an LEA, a journalist and a General

Secretary of a teachers' association. All these individuals were direct personal nominees of the then Secretaries of State.

In order to envisage the role of CATE within its organisational context, it has to be remembered that in England there are now three aspects to the process of teacher accreditation. The first of these might be referred to as administrative approval and is closely associated with the concepts of supply and demand. It is fulfilled by the University Grants Committee for the university sector and by the National Advisory Body for the public sector area of higher education. It is the responsibility of these two bodies to manage the numbers and resources in relation to teacher education allocated to them by the Department of Education and Science and to distribute the numbers and resources to those institutions within their area of concern that they wish to foster. Then, secondly, there is the matter of the academic approval of courses and the monitoring of academic standards, both of which are in the hands of validating bodies - the universities on the one hand, or the Council for National Academic Awards on the other. Finally, there is what is known as Schedule 5 approval which refers to a teacher-training course being granted approval by the Secretary of State under Schedule 5 of the Education Teachers Regulations of 1982. It is only with this last function that CATE relates. CATE is thus concerned with the process of accrediting of courses, the recommending of approval of courses, and not in any way with recognising particular institutions or departments.

Now, how does CATE set about the process of accreditation and what criteria are operated in determining whether or not a particular course in a particular institution is to be recommended to the

Minister for his approval? First of all, it is a matter de rigueur that CATE should always take into account the report of a specially arranged HMI visit to an institution. A team of Her Majesty's Inspectors must thus visit every initial teacher training establishment with a view to making a report to CATE on the organization, nature and quality of the initial training courses being operated therein and to ascertaining the extent to which those courses are meeting or not meeting the criteria as laid down for accreditation purposes. Let me give an example. A team of 11 HMI, including the Chief Inspector for Teacher Training and a number of State Inspectors, visited the Hull University Department of Educational Studies for a week in November 1985 at the university's invitation. The fiction is always sustained, incidentally that in the university sector HMI visits are only made 'by invitation' of each institution. The corollary is, of course, that if there is no visit, there is no accreditation! The Inspectors attended around 60 lectures, seminars or tutorials and on some 70 occasions were involved in substantial discussions with individual members of staff about their work. Lectures were accompanied by some HMI on a dozen visits to schools that week and they were able to see some of the university staff teaching and working with students and with children during the visits. All in all, then, over 90% of the academic staff involved in initial teacher training courses in the department were either seen teaching students or children or were engaged in formal discussions about their work. Subsequent to the visit and the production of a draft report, a final written document of some 24,000 words was submitted to CATE and a copy given to the university, the head of the Education Department and to the University Grants Committee. The university was invited to issue a response to the same bodies if it so wished. The HMI Report dealt with the two initial teacher training courses that Hull currently offers - on the one hand the Postgraduate Certificate in Education and on the other the four-year BSc integrated undergraduate honours degree. The Report dealt with these courses under a series of headings such as accommodation, resources (including library provision), staffing, students, relations with schools, and content of courses. There was also a special section dealing with each of the method courses in turn and at length, and one each with foundation studies, tutorial studies, extended studies, central servicing courses, supplementary courses, and professional issues. A final judgement was made on the overall quality of teaching and learning. So, as you will appreciate, HMI Reports are very thorough, very professional, very detailed and very searching based upon an exhaustive week of enquiries, pleasantly pursued but thoroughly well-planned in advance. Nothing escapes notice, nor indeed must it be allowed so to do, if the operation is to carry with it credibility or a sense of equity and fairness. Of course it can be objected as a dernier ressort, if one is so inclined, that there are disadvantages in such a snapshot view of any teacher training course. After all, a course is a living dynamic entity and one week selected out of the 36 prescribed by the Secretary of State as the minimum length of a PGCE course, may be atypical of the programme as a whole, just as one week from a four-year undergraduate programme, can be positively misleading. Nevertheless, HMI are very experienced men and women thoroughly adept in the art of extrapolation. Any Department of Education worthy of its salt should not really be anxious about an external review of its work and provision. Indeed, positive recommendations may lead institutions to reflect further on the level of resourcing of their teacher education departments perhaps to the long-term advantages of the departments.

The next stage of the process following the issue of an HMI Report is the despatch of an invitation to an institution from CATE indicating that the latter intends to consider the institution's training courses. To this end, the institution is required to provide information for each of its initial programmes on how far the criteria laid down by the Secretary for State are being met and a pro-forma is included requesting detailed information on the courses themselves, on the staff teaching them and on the students following them. After full consideration, if CATE is satisfied with the response, a recommendation for accreditation is sent to the Secretary of State. If it is not satisfied it may require certain changes before reconsideration of the application takes place. It may also withhold a final positive recommendation of a course.

The criteria laid down by the Secretaries of State can be grouped under six broad headings and I wish to say something about each of these in turn because they do form the most controversial elements in the recent reform of teacher education in England.

The first of the criteria relates to the selection of students for teacher training courses. One of the main criticisms of teacher training establishments has always been that there is a lack of rigour in the operation of selection procedures. Indeed, I remember that here in Ireland, certainly some ten years ago, there was little discussion of the nature of selection procedures in operation for H. Dip in Ed. courses, what was existing being mainly governed by the inherent logistics of class size. Little or no attention at that time was paid to whether or not candidates had the personal or intellectual qualities suitable for a career in teaching, whether or not the national demands of teacher supply were considered in setting the numbers of students to be admitted to H. Dip. in Ed. courses, or whether or not applicants showed any professional potential for the course. Furthermore, it has long been felt in the U.K. that there ought to be some involvement of practising teachers in the initial selection processes. If teachers are to enter into a real partnership with teacher educators and trainers in the full professional induction processes, as they must do when students are teaching in their schools, then they ought to be in at the operation *ab initio*. Their experience, their professional expertise and their up-to-date knowledge of classroom interactive processes provide an excellent resource base for the selection process. The CATE criteria require, then, that each applicant for a teacher training place should be interviewed, either by means of a personal or a group interview or by both, and that experienced practising schoolteachers should be involved in the selection process at some stage. It has often been alleged that this requirement reflects the peculiar concern of Sir Keith Joseph who is said to have paid too much attention to the panacea, as it saw it, of the selection procedure in teacher training. It is undoubtedly true that even with the best interview processes that can be devised, weak candidates will still find acceptance on to courses and candidates who prove to be unsatisfactory in the classroom will still have to be counselled out at a later date. Nevertheless, it is possible in a properly organised and conducted interview procedure to eliminate some of the more obvious intellectually weak or ill-motivated candidates and to reduce the incidence of subsequent failure or personality incompatibility. The kind of personal qualities to be looked for at interview, we are told, are a sense of responsibility, a robust but balanced outlook, (how the D.E.S. relishes that word 'robust'!), awareness, sensitivity, enthusiasm, and the facility for effective communication in spoken and written English. Furthermore, previous employment or experience of work with children or adolescents it is urged, should count strongly in a candidate's favour. All entrants to teaching in England have been required to have at least a grade C pass in the GCE 'O' level examination in both English and Mathematics or a grade 1 in the CSE examination in these subjects (or the equivalent in a C.S.E.) and they must possess a satisfactory health record. Recent regulations have imposed on Local Education Authorities the need to satisfy themselves that students do not have a criminal record when they enter the schools.

For admission to undergraduate courses of teacher training applicants must also have 'A' levels appropriate to the curriculum in the sector for which they are training, primary or secondary. In the case of postgraduate training courses, directed to primary or secondary teaching, the initial degree must be suitably related to the work of the schools in the particular sector concerned. Now this latter requirement has caused much anxious debate in universities and colleges as to the suitability for teaching of degree courses pursued in, say, Philosophy, or Politics, or Sociology (which was a pet dislike of Sir Keith Joseph) or Peace Studies, or Statistics. Students with degrees in such non-school disciplines are undoubtedly finding it increasingly difficult to secure teacher training places on graduation, as institutions become sensitive and nervous in regard to government and to CATE and HMI criticism. No particular subject has been pilloried by CATE but recruitment to the degree subjects that have been mentioned, in universities and institutions of higher education, has been adversely affected by the new general criteria for admission to teacher training.

The second group of criteria constitutes perhaps the most controversial of them all because it relates to the staff engaged in teacher training work and concerns itself with the nature of their experience and their qualifications. It has been a commonplace criticism of colleges of education and of university departments of education that teacher trainers become progressively distanced from the classroom and their professional skills as the date of their last full-time appointment in a school becomes remote. Cases are not unknown of lecturers who have been working in teacher training for twenty years or even longer who have never sought an opportunity to update their professional skills in classroom processes or, worse, have never taught a child anything for years. Undoubtedly, such people must be seen as receiving salaries under false pretences. They must be lacking in credibility with teachers, with students and with school and, what is more, their lack of recent school experience profoundly impairs them from doing their job effectively or professionally. An Education Department in a College or University must not be allowed to become a feather-bedded, semi-retirement home for those who are tired of the classroom, for those who are too lazy or otherwise unable to cope with its pressures, or for those lacking in pedagogical inspiration. For these reasons the CATE criteria prescribe that all staff concerned with pedagogy in all initial teacher training courses should have had recent successful experience as teachers of the age range for which they are preparing students and that they should maintain regular and frequent contact with classroom teaching. For those unable to meet the requirement opportunities should be provided to demonstrate teaching effectiveness in schools. Now these prescriptions, in my view, are wholly beneficial and they will have, in the fullness of time, a tremendous effect on the rejuvenation of teacher training establishments. In the Hull University Department of Education, for instance, all 17 members of staff directly concerned with pedagogical work undertake a regular teaching commitment in a school or schools amounting to at least half a day a week, on average, and in some cases to a full day a week. There is indeed a rich variety of approach. Allow me to provide a couple of examples. In one case a weekly teaching programme has been arranged in which a lecturer takes all the French lessons, four periods a week, with a certain class of children in a local girls' comprehensive school. She takes the class in the first year and then she works with it as it progresses, year by year, right through the school. Full responsibility for the class is taken by the lecturer, including the setting and marking of examinations, participation in parents' evenings, the writing of school reports, the undertaking of pastoral care for her children, and so on. The class and the lecturer are frequently observed in action by the lecturer's own university students in training. In addition, each year this particular lecturer conducts an intensive residential French course for 70 sixth formers at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, which she has done now for 16 years, and more recently, another one for 150 sixthformers at the Menai Centre in Wales. A second lecturer takes a Chemistry class in a local comprehensive school for all its lessons in the subject throughout the school year while his students work in the same school alongside his class, with a parallel group. He marks the pupils' examination scripts and test papers, he completes termly reports, he participates in parents' meeting. These two examples are provided simply as illustrations of the kind of work lecturing staff are doing with great beneficial effect to their university-based courses as well as to their professional credibility. Furthermore, Hull university has approved a scheme whereby all the members of staff engaged in pedagogy may apply for two periods of study leave within a six-year cycle, one to be devoted to the normal function of research and study, and the other one to be devoted to a complete term's engagement, teaching an appropriate age-phase in a local school. Now if CATE encourages the development of provision such as this, a radical reform of teacher training will undoubtedly ensue and those less-satisfactory individuals who cannot keep up with the pressures implicit in the acquisition of recent and relevant teaching experience will of course inevitably bow out of the process.

CATE's third group of criteria relates to the course organisation of the initial training programme and emphasizes yet again that teacher training is a collaborative enterprise between schools and training departments. Not only should experienced teachers be involved in the supervision of teaching practice in schools, as they generally already are, and have been for many years in such things as the assessing of students' practical work but they should also be brought into the training establishments themselves on a regular basis to participate in the teaching of method classes and curriculum work and to help to plan and review training procedures. Courses are thus to be seen in the future as close working partnerships, on the sort of clinical pattern, between schools and training institutions. Each teacher training institution is required to establish a local committee the function of which is to discuss the planning, operation and review of its courses and which has a special role in promoting links not only between institutions and schools but also between institutions and the wider community. Teachers in service and teacher trainers and representatives of local education authorities are members of this local committee but there are also to be members selected from the community outside the education service. This provision reflects the fact that education is not the exclusive concern if ever it was, of those professionally involved in it but also a matter of importance for industrialists, for public representatives, for parents, for clergy and for taxpayers. The committee is required to meet regularly and, in most cases, this is interpreted as being at least once in each term. The general experience of these professional committees seems to be that they are working well and helpfully. Occasionally, of course, some institution may find it has a member or two on the committee working against the institution rather than for it but usually the committees are supportive, healthy, and able to undertake and complete the function envisaged in their establishment.

The last three groups of criteria are concerned directly with subject studies and subject method work, with educational and professional studies, and with student assessment and certification. The prescriptions, here, have caused most difficulty in relation to the preparation of primary school teachers which, in a four-year programme leading to the B.Ed. degree, must include the equivalent of at least two full years of course time devoted to academic studies at a level appropriate to higher education and which must also take account of the application of the subjects studied to the learning and developmental needs of young children. Furthermore, primary trainee teachers are to spend about a hundred hours in studying the teaching of mathematics, a hundred hours in studying the teaching of language, and an unspecified quantum of time on the other professional areas which prepare them for the wider role of a class teacher. For many primary school teacher trainers these regulations seem to strike at the very root of good primary practice in which subject work and professional courses have hitherto been closely integrated. The aim directing the change is that every primary teacher should not only be a general class teacher but also a curriculum leader in his/her school in at least one discipline, one area of work. In this way it is felt curricular expertise will be enhanced and the primary teacher will be a more knowledgeable and more committed professional. Time alone will tell, of course, if the insistence upon two years of subject study is as beneficial as CATE imagines it will be but, of course, the Irish experience in this matter would not find, perhaps, such a requirement particularly strange.

In regard to classroom work, four-year courses are to provide for at least 20 weeks of school-based experience and teaching practice, three-year courses for 15 weeks, and PGCE courses also for 15 weeks. This experience is to include both intermittent and block school practice, and provision is to be made for observation, small-group teaching, and the tutoring of individual children. Responsibility for organizing and planning the work of a whole class and experience of general class management and control are a sine qua non in such arrangements. Considerable stress is to be laid upon the preparation of students to teach children of diverse social backgrounds and different ethnic and multicultural origins, as well as those with special educational needs and differing levels of learning performance. Students in training must also be made aware of the nature, values and economic foundations of the world in which they live, be cognizant of their future pastoral and administrative roles in schools and be made aware of the structure and administration of the educational service. Teacher training qualifications must never be given to students whose practical work is unsatisfactory.

Well, it is all a tall order, with a long list of ingredients to be packed into the training shopping bag. A fundamental criticism of the CATE criteria must lie in the fact that they have little to say about the importance of aims and purposes in teacher education, little to urge about the need to recognize unity and synthesis as essential ingredients of the educative process. By concentrating on the ingredients, the framers of the criteria hope the cake will be both well-baked and appetizing. We all know that need not necessarily be the outcome. Professor Godfrey Thompson, well over 50 years ago warned of the danger of neglecting aims and purposes in teacher training courses and concentrating unduly on methods and means, substituting the evanescent for the abiding, the particular for the all-embracing. Indeed when it comes to defining teacher education and teaching quality, CATE has been devoid of ideas. The criteria have nothing beyond a checklist of good practice to offer, an emphasis simply upon techniques and skills. Indeed one critic has recently remarked that the whole process seems to be yearning for an unreal dream of a training process that will turn out from its production lines gleaming and virtually identical models that will run smoothly for forty years or so with an occasional topping up of petrol or oil. Like other such efforts in the past, the outcome may well be illusory.

Furthermore, to implement the criteria to their fullest extent requires considerable additional financial resources which are simply not available in many teacher training institutions in England. Little understanding is evinced, too, about the use of staff time. Certainly, lecturing staff in university departments of education are engaged in teaching higher degree programmes and providing shorter courses for teachers, as well as immersing themselves in research activities, consultancies, and in writing and publishing. The CATE operation makes no allowance at all for this rich array of activity, all of which has beneficial outcomes for initial training work, and it seems to operate on the assumption that those members of staff engaged in initial teacher training courses are, in fact, engaged exclusively in that activity. It must be said, however, in fairness, that the chairman of CATE has always maintained that his Council would not seek to impose any single model of initial teacher training upon training institutions but that within the prescriptions of the criteria for accreditation there remains scope for a great deal of variation in the philosophy, structure and organisational content of such programmes. Room must be left for worthwhile innovation. That may well be the genuine intent. But, fundamentally, one must maintain that efficiency in classroom processes, while of very great importance in itself, is yet a vain efficiency if it avoids the need to meet the real challenges and fundamental questions that lie at the root of the educative process. As a result of the work of our student teachers what kind of life will their pupils find it most worthwhile to live? What constitutes, in fact, the best preparation for 'the good life'?

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AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM:
IS THE CURE WORSE THAN THE DISEASE?

Robert N. Barger

INTRODUCTION

Putting aside any sense of suspense, let me immediately make my position clear. I think that, in the case of recent American educational reform, the cure is indeed worse than the disease. Note that I do not deny there is a sickness in American education which needs to be remedied. Rather, what I want to say is that most recent recommendations for putting American education aright seem to me to be only recipes for aggravating the situation.

As a means of investigating the recent American educational reform movement, I have chosen to concentrate on the analysis and recommendations found in A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform. This report was published in April, 1983, by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. The Commission was appointed by United States Secretary of Education Terrel H. Bell and consisted of eighteen members who represented such various educational constituencies as legislators, professors, college presidents, state and local educational administrators, etc. There was one teacher on the Commission.

A Nation at Risk has generally been considered to be precedential for the scores of major reports on American education which have been published since its issuance. Many of its recommendations have already been carried into practice (Weinraub, 1986). Having read most of the subsequent reports and having observed that they propose essentially the same diagnosis and remedy as A Nation at

Risk, I believe that a concentration on *A Nation at Risk* will provide a sufficient basis on which to elucidate and critique the approach to American educational reform that has been dominant for the past several years.

CRISIS MENTALITY

A Nation at Risk was written in apocalyptic tones. It opened with this warning:

> the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people ... If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p.5).

This sense of emergency has continued to characterize most of the succeeding American educational reform reports. One of the latest to be issued said:

> Public officials who propose budget reductions in education at a time when the republic is handicapped by the burden of an undereducated populace are unthinkingly abetting an act of national suicide ... The storm warnings are unmistakable: Our society is troubled, our economy endangered, our democratic values jeopardized, our international leadership threatened, our educational system embattled.
> (National Commission on the Role and Future of State Colleges and Universities, 1986, pp. 2-3.)

EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Returning to our consideration of A Nation at Risk, the Commission made clear at the outset of its report that its concern about the deterioration of American education was focused, first of all, on economic and geopolitical realities. It was worried that, unless educational reform occurred, America would lose its privileged position in world trade and international affairs. Additionally, the Commission was concerned about the erosion of domestic equality of opportunity. It said:

> Part of what is at risk is the promise first made on this continent: All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools of developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p.8).

Thus, the goals that seem to have driven the Commission's recommendations were dominance in the international sphere and equity at home. it may be wondered whether there is not some trace of paradox involved in attempting to pursue simultaneously the goals of dominance and equity. Yet, America has often been characterized as a nation which has been able to embrace both extremes of a contradiction at the same time.

The Commission groups its recommendations under the headings of content, standards and expectations, time, teaching, and leadership and financial support. Each of these sets of recommendations will be considered in turn.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING CONTENT

The Commission recommended that all students be required to take courses in the "Five New Basics" in order to graduate from high school. This would entail the completion of four years of English, three years of mathematics, three years of science, three years of social studies, and one-half year of computer science. Additionally, for the college-bound, two years of foreign language were strongly recommended.

This recommendation seems to be predicated on a belief that Ivan Illich once characterized as a myth, namely: "that instruction produces learning....; that valuable learning is the result of attendance; (and) that the value of learning increases with the amount of input" (Illich, 1970, p.56). Requiring a given number of years of exposure to a subject does not guarantee an achievement of competency in that subject. It may be a necessary condition for such competency, but it is not a sufficient one. The Commission did not make this important distinction in its report. Still, in response to the Commission's proposal, forty of the fifty states have enacted legislation increasing the number of required courses in English, mathematics, natural science, and social science. California's requirement of four years of English, three years of mathematics, two years of natural science, and two years of social science is typical (Johnson, 1985).

The "Five New Basics" which the Commission proposed sound suspiciously like the old basics, with the exception that something called "computer science" has been added. At a conference in 1984, I asked Wilton Goldberg, the Executive Director of the Commission, from whence this "computer science" recommendation had arisen. Was it suggested by one of the Commissioners, or by one of the staff, or perhaps by the testimony of one of the experts who had appeared before the Commission? No, he said, it came through none of these channels. Rather, the recommendation had emerged because of the frequent expression of the need for a knowledge of computers in today's society voiced by parents and other members of the public who appeared at the Commission's meetings. While I would certainly agree with such a need, I would also have expected a much more substantial research basis for a recommendation that every high school graduate be required to spend one-half year devoted solely to the study of something called "computer science."

The Commission made clear what it meant by "computer science" when it said:

> The teaching of computer science in high school should equip graduates to: (a) understand the computer as an information, computation, and communication device; (b) use the computer in the study of the other Basics and for personal and work-related purposes; and (c) understand the world of computers, electronics, and related technologies (p. 26).

One might want to question not only whether the computer is best studied in the format of a concentrated one-half year course, but also - in light of the Commission's above-stated description - whether that study should in fact be termed "computer science" or rather something like "computer studies" (on this point, see the remarks of Kelly, 1985,pp. 161-163. About twenty states have enacted legislation or have proposals requiring that students be computer literate by the time they graduate from high school, or that they complete a specific computer course in either elementary or high school (Johnson, 1985).

PROPOSALS CONCERNING STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS

The Commission recommended that "schools, colleges, and universities adopt some rigorous and measurable standards, and higher expectations for academic performance and student conduct, and that 4-year (sic) colleges and universities raise their requirements for admission" (p.27). In connection with this recommendation, the Commission recommended a nationwide (but not Federal) system of standardized achievement tests, which "should be administered at major transition points from one level of schooling to another and particularly from college to work" (p.28).

I have three problems with these recommendations. First the Commission made the unqualified assumption that every one of the more than two thousand American four-year colleges and universities would have need to raise the admission standards. I think this assumption is questionable. Second, under the Commission's recommendations for tighter admission standards, the policy of relative open access to public colleges and universities (by which anyone who meets a certain minimum academic standard is admitted, but is subject to dismissal if he or she does not achieve and maintain a certain grade point average) would be imperilled. Indeed, the implementation of this recommendation would place considerable barriers in the way of achieving the Commission's stated goal of equality of educational opportunity. Third, the Commission suggested that college admission should be granted largely on the basis of nationwide standardized test scores. This assumes, first of all, that the mission of all colleges and universities is essentially the same, and , secondly, that standardized test scores are better indicators of potential college success than are high school class ranks. I think both of these assumptions are mistaken.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING TIME

The Commission recommended that "significantly more time be devoted to learning the New Basics. This will require more effective use of the existing school day, a longer school day, or a lengthened school year" (p. 29). The Commission went on to specifically recommend that local school districts and state legislatures strongly consider adopting seven-hour school days and 200-day to 220-day school years. Perhaps the most telling evaluation of the wisdom of this recommendation was that made by a New York youth after A National at Risk was issued, when asked for his comment on the Commission's recommendations, the youth responded: "Young people already dislike school, and they are going to make us hate it more" (Credibility Gap, 1983, section 1, p. 18). That youth implicitly put his finger on the heart of what is wrong with the Commission's proposals, namely, the assumption that more is better and that quantity leads to quality.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING TEACHING

The Commission found that "Too many teachers are being drawn from the bottom quarter of graduating high school and college students" (p.22) and hence recommended that "persons preparing to teach should be required to meet high educational standards" (p.30). Recently published, validated research (Barger, Barger, & Rearden, 1985) has demonstrated that the Commission was in error in this finding. The reason for this error was that the Commission had extrapolated that, since most students in high school who indicated an interest in going into teaching had scored very low on nationwide standardized college aptitude tests, most new teachers must be at the bottom of the academic barrel. Despite the fact that this finding was in error, subsequent reports and the popular press still continue to propagate the myth that new teachers are substandard. More than thirty states have enacted legislation specifying college courses that prospective teachers must complete, requiring proficiency examinations in basic skills and/or in subjects they plan to teach, or specifying under what conditions districts may hire non-certified personnel (Johnson, 1985).

The Commission also recommended that students preparing to teach should demonstrate competence in an academic discipline. This recommendation has recently led to the issuance of two reports which proposed that undergraduate teacher education progress should be entirely abolished and that teacher education should become an exclusively graduate enterprise (Holmes Group, 1986; Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986). The thought behind these proposals is that students should first obtain a degree in an academic discipline and then proceed to the graduate/professional level to be educated for teaching. However, there is ample evidence that undergraduate teacher education programs continue to produce competent teachers. Also, it may well be argued that being involved with teacher education at the same time that a student is involved with his or her major undergraduate studies, is actually an asset rather than a liability.

The Commission also recommended that "Salaries for the teaching profession should be ... performance-based" (p.30). This advocacy of merit pay caused initial adverse reaction from the major American teachers' unions (The National Education Association and The American Federation of Teachers). They have recently begun to be somewhat more tolerant of this idea. Their major concerns center around what criteria will be used to determine who gets merit pay and who will do the evaluation for the award of merit pay.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP AND FISCAL SUPPORT

Under this heading the Commission recommended that educators and elected officials be held responsible for providing the leadership necessary for reform and that citizens provide the fiscal support needed to bring about this reform. While it might seem hard to quarrel with this recommendation, I would argue that the problem with it is that the Commission was not specific enough in suggesting what kind of changes in governance or fiscal structures were needed to bring about reform. It recommended that current structures and bodies should simply do better what they were already charged with doing.

CONCLUSION

A Nation at Risk is essentially a conservative document. None of its major recommendations called for radical change. What it did call for was simply more time spent on the basics, more time in school, tougher (but not essentially different) academic standards, more years of teacher preparation, and more money.

To paraphrase the New York youth quoted earlier in this paper; if present school strategy and tactics are ineffective, simply recommending more of the same is likely to make things worse, not better. Yet, neither A Nation at Risk nor the plethora of reports which followed in its wake have proposed anything truly innovative in the way of educational curriculum or instructional methodology. They have only recommended measures which would reinforce the status quo.

It has been said that one who criticizes should be prepared to offer a better alternative. I have suggested that doing nothing or simply doing "more of the same" is not likely to produce change. If a different educational "output" is sought, it seems that there are two possible choices: 1) the "input" to education could be changed (this would affect who is to be educated and how much education they are to be offered), or 2) the "processing" involved in education could be changed (this would affect what is done in teaching and learning, how it is done, and who does it). Because I value the principle of equality of educational opportunity, I would not like to see any diminution of the present "input" to education. There does seem to me to be some hope in pursuing real change in the "processing" involved in education. Just how this alternative would be specified is beyond the scope of this paper. I believe it would involve the application of Deweyan philosophy and Piagetian psychology. But, as to the present course of "more of the same" in American educational reform, I continue to fear that this type of cure is worse than the disease.

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PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES

Gerry Gaden

From our experience as clients, we are all familiar with the fact that there are differences of outlook among practitioners in the various professions, which affect the ways in which they carry on their work. Being with one doctor, lawyer, teacher or social worker is not like being with another. This is not merely a matter of technical competence, for similar techniques will certainly be available to and often used by people who, we shall still want to say, approach their work differently. It is natural to refer to such differences as differences in professional attitude.

An attitude can be thought of as a set of emotional and behavioural dispositions, rooted in beliefs both about what is the case and about what ought to be. Sometimes such beliefs are consciously held and explicitly stated, sometimes not. Thus ambitiousness, an element in the attitude to work of many professionals, involves beliefs about what constitutes progress in the professional context, and some endorsement of the values in terms of which progress is conventionally judged. Similarly, an ideal of service to the community or to a clientele incorporates judgments as to the needs of the clients, in which empirical and evaluative considerations are interconnected. (It is difficult, and probably mistaken, to separate them.)

There is both description and evaluation in the usage of the term 'professional' as well. By 'professional attitudes' I mean first of all the attitudes of practitioners to working life in occupations commonly classed as professions, and I shall be taking it for granted here that teaching is such a case.[1] But the application of expressions like 'professional attitude' (also 'professional conduct', 'professional judgment', etc.) commonly involves a moral or quasi-moral evaluation. Roughly speaking, it requires that the demands and responsibilities of the job be taken seriously by the practitioner, that his approach be commensurate with the significance of the task entrusted to him. An attitude which fails to meet these requirements is considered 'unprofessional'. My central concern here is with the general form of these requirements, and with the considerations which give content to them in the case of teaching.

Before going into this, it is necessary to note that people quite often build into their idea of professional attitude very specific kinds of demand. Thus it is commonly assumed that a professional attitude is one of detachment, objectivity and impartiality. This is connected with the idea that professional judgment depends upon technical knowledge and expertise: it readily suggests, and is frequently taken to entail, a radical separation of professional activity from the personal life of the practitioner. On another extreme, someone may be considered unprofessional in his attitudes if he fails to conduct his life generally in accordance with some conventionally preferred value-system, so that his private life may come under scrutiny as well. Generally, I shall be expressing resistance to such sterotypes, but they do serve to illustrate the significance of the topic: possession of an appropriate attitude is among the conditions which people are expected to meet for professional employment, and is supposed to be developed during their training. Yet we do not seem to have any clear agreement on what constitutes such an attitude.

Let us take up, then, the notion of a professional attitude as a complex of dispositions and tendencies, with underlying beliefs and commitments, which broadly determines the manner and spirit in which the practitioner carries on his occupation. To speak of an attitude in this way might suggest that it must be a strongly unified approach, with a high degree of internal consistency among the various aspects or elements of the complex. But we certainly should not overestimate the extent to which this is usual, or even possible. Most of us experience motivational tensions and conflicts of value. Indeed, the most succinct description of a given person's professional attitude could well be one which refers to a characteristic tension running through much of his working life - between ambition and altruism, for instance, or between institutional obligations and the perceived needs of clients. A professional attitude does not always have to be in perfect logical order, or purged of psychological dissonance. If it were, it would probably be superficial.

What does it have to be like? It must be emphasised that any serious answer to this question will have to be both privately and publicly acceptable, and that this limits what can reasonably be stipulated. It is futile to make demands which very many professionals would be unable or unwilling to meet, for instance that they all be motivated by a disinterested love of learning, or operate from the same political standpoint. Conversely, it has to be remembered that these occupations exist for the public benefit, and not to serve the private fantasies of individuals who work in them. If we are to get agreement we have to start with a proposal which is formal rather than substantive - a set of relatively indeterminate adequacy-conditions, which express the form rather than the content of our requirements, and which may then be given substance by reference to the distinctive logical and empirical characteristics of particular occupations.

To develop such a proposal rationally we need to see why the evolution of a relatively stable attitude to work is necessary, what kinds of function a professional attitude fulfils, and how it enters into the conduct of working life.

First, it establishes a place for work in the overall lifestyle of the practitioner. This is partly a practical matter, of how professional demands are to be reconciled with or related to demands in other areas of one's life. But it is also a question of values, of the extent to which one's sense of identity and purpose in life is developed through work. it is possible for people to perform in roles or in ways which run counter to ideals and aspirations which motivate them elsewhere; but this is hardly something to be chosen or advocated. Marx called it the alienation of labour:

> The worker ... only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home. [2]

At a personal level our professional attitudes represent our ways of seeking and sustaining coherence between ourselves, with all our other concerns, and our occupations.

Second, it provides stability in the ordering of professional priorities, encompassing the standards one seeks to maintain and the aims pursued. The very existence of professional occupations depends upon there

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being common public concerns, and a measure of agreement about how they are to be met. A wholly unstable set of priorities is not shareable, and hence can play no part in such a context.

Third, it provides a basis for dealing with conflict, for example conflict with employers or colleagues, who do not necessarily share one's views about particular matters of substance. It is in such conflict-situations that professional attitudes often become explicit, and integrity is put under strain.

Fourth and finally, it yields a relatively reliable capacity for immediate response to circumstances arising in the day-to-day course of work, and hence a consistency of approach and style to which others, especially clients, can relate.

From these functions we can derive four general adequacy-conditions for professional attitudes:

(1) Authenticity. Since professional work is normally very time-consuming, the place assigned to it in the practitioner's life will typically be a substantial one. It must therefore be, from his point of view, a justified place. If I make X my profession, I must believe not only that X is worth doing, but also that it is worth doing by me. Such a belief requires assessment of one's own abilities and motives, and at least a consistency between the value-judgments made in professional practice and the more general values one lives by. Self and work do not have to be wholly identified, but they cannot be wholly cut off. Where they are, professional practice is an exercise in humbug.[3]

(2) Defensibility. While there is room for considerable differences of view with respect to the central purposes of professional work, for instance over what counts as educating or promoting health, it is not the case that just anything counts, and priorities which flow from

one's own construals of these purposes have to be rationally defensible. This requires at least a certain realism with regard to the main structural features of the occupation and its context. Schoolteaching, for instance, cannot be carried on as if the clients were all adults, or as if no authority relationships were involved.

(3) Sensitivity. A professional attitude has to be conditioned by awareness of the experiences and perspectives of other parties to the enterprise, especially those of clients and colleagues. Responsiveness to the circumstances and feelings of patients, for example, is a condition of adequate medical practice; and a schoolteacher whose conduct is not informed by the realisation that others have to teach the same children is irresponsible. This is not to promote conformism; it is to condemn self-indulgence. To be *blindly* conformist is also to be insensitive (by definition).

(4) Adaptability. There also has to be responsiveness to immediate circumstances, and to changes which may not always be predictable. Situations and problems arising in the course of professional work often do not fall into clearly defined categories - this I suggest is part of what distinguishes professional occupations from others. Although a professional attitude may be partly described in terms of beliefs and principles, it is not just a belief-system or a set of abstract principles carried to work as psychological luggage. It is dispositional, hence action-guiding; but one is guided by the spirit rather than the letter of its law.

Now these formal adequacy-conditions have to be filled out and made more determinate by reference to the characteristic features of particular professional occupations. So for the remainder of the paper I want to look at the case of schoolteaching in order to show, at least in principle, how this may be done. As we go, I will draw out some implications for our understanding of professional training and employment policy in education, and contest some prevalent conceptions of professional attitudes in this field.

We can start by drawing attention to a number of features characteristic of the teacher-pupil relationship in schools, the core relationship towards which professional attitudes in teaching have to be directed. These are:

(a) It is an adult-child relationship.
(b) It is an institutional authority-relationship.
(c) Its main assumed purpose is educative.
(d) It is extended over considerable time, much of it spent in group situations.
(e) In many cases the attendance of pupils is compulsory.

These are features which, taken together, make it a distinctive kind of relationship - distinguishable, for instance, from a parental relationship, and from other kinds of professional-client relationship. They are major structural features which any realistic, and therefore any rationally defensible attitude to school-teaching has to take into account. What counts as an acceptable professional attitude to teaching, from the public point of view, will be limited by what counts as a rationally defensible response to these features of the teaching relationship. That there are limits to this is clear; just what they are is not.[4] Hence the tendency to fall back on stereotyped images, in the desire to maintain standards of 'professionalism'. Yet the limits of defensibility are certainly not going to be so narrow as to justify the imposition of conformity with these patterns, which are essentially expressions of prejudice. A passion for methodological or curricular innovation, for example, is not entailed by the possession of a professional attitude, any more than is an austere dedication to traditional orthodoxies. Of course, any defensible outlook will be responsive to changing social conditions, and involve a willingness to consider new practical ideas; but these requirements are compatible with a wide range of educational values, beliefs and approaches.

The sensitivity condition, applied to teaching, requires that the distinctive features of the teaching relationship be considered, not only from one's own point of view, but also from those of others, particularly the clients. This raises special difficulties because, in this profession, the client group consists of young people whose own capacities for seeing matters from another's point of view may be comparatively undeveloped. We often hear talk of the need to 'get down to the child's level', but this language suggests that it is merely a question of intellectual sophistication, which it is not (though that of course may be part of it). Doing justice to the fact that one is working with children and adolescents demands more than an external awareness of developmental stages. There has to be, at least in some degree, an entering into the experience of the child, looking from his/her perspective on the world. How might someone develop this capacity? In large part, surely, through careful attention to experience - one's own experience as a child, and as a child in school, and the experiences of young people one has been close to. There are also the many striking portrayals of childhood and adolescence in imaginative literature. Such recollections and reflections can be shared: we can learn from one another. In promoting the development of sensitivity in the professional attitudes of educators, is it altogether heretical to suggest that these sources of acquaintance with particular human experiences, systematically used, might be of at least as much value as the contemplation of psychological abstractions?

This reference to the significance of personal experience brings us to the next general point, which is that the authenticity condition requires a strong interpretation for the case of schoolteaching. This will be so, in fact, for any occupation which entails a high level of sustained direct interaction between persons, within parameters which are not sharply defined, and teaching is undoubtedly such a case. But here again there is no point in prescribing a paradigm. The job does not have to be treated as a vocation or a calling; and a life of total dedication to the task is not to be demanded - heroism may be excellent, but it is not an obligation.[5] But it is a long way from there to treating the occupation as a meal-ticket. The general point is that in this type of work it is difficult, and for the most part inappropriate, to hid oneself, or to try and disassociate one's own values from the occupation. Even adopting a view of education restricted to the transmission of specific skills and bodies of knowledge - and that is not a very plausible view - it is questionable whether much can be taught in a wholly impersonal fashion. Furthermore, someone seeking to evolve a professional attitude which minimises the extent to which the self is revealed, is likely to find his facade crumbling under the pressure of sustained interaction with young people. The feature of compulsion reinforces this, by obliging people to come to terms: imagine the change in your relationship to your G.P. if weekly, let alone daily consultations were obligatory.

A consequence of this from the public point of view is that consideration of beliefs, values and lifestyle cannot reasonably be excluded from the business of assessing suitability for teaching. But this does not justify attempts to impose, through selection policy or monitoring, conformity with a specific belief-system or model of private behaviour among the teaching population. In a society which is in any marked degree pluralistic, these are intrusions which cannot be supported by appealing to the concept of a professional attitude. They are highly questionable on educational grounds as well.[6]

The consequence from the personal point of view, and with respect to the problems of professional training, is that preparing to teach becomes a matter, not just of acquiring technical competence but also, if I may so put it, of getting oneself in shape to do the job. it is not a question of deciding how to behave, as such, but of trying to organise one's beliefs, motives and feelings about the occupation in a way which takes proper account of its distinctive features. This requires reflection and there is no substitute for it: no plan, script, schedule, behavioural repertoire or role-specification can itself secure a personally significant basis for conduct in working life.

To illustrate: the implications of the fact that one is formally 'in charge' of a group of young people, and partly responsible for their 'education', are far from clear, and have to be considered from the sides of the other parties involved, and not just from one's own. There is work to be done here. It is not a question of choosing between alternative stylistic models ('authoritarian', 'democratic', etc.) and theories of education ('progressive', 'traditional', etc.). In fact, these labels often do more harm than good. They are abstractions generated from the outside, from the angel's eye, from the perspective of a dispassionate observer. Even as instruments of theory or analysis, their value is questionable, and they certainly cannot constitute practical options in the formation of professional attitudes. Nor is it just that they represent extreme positions; middle-of-the-road specifications are no better, as can be seen from the following rather desperate passage by Hirst and Peters:

> What is advocated is that the teacher should not discharge his functions all the time in a way which is strictly dictated by his role and by general moral principles; he should, at the same time, allow glimpses of himself as a human being to slip out and be receptive to this dimension of his pupils.[7]

I am really not sure how I would try to follow this recommendation. But what is wrong is the whole idea of making this type of choice. Does a novelist begin his career by choosing from an inventory of literary styles? Could I decide how to bring up my children, or conduct my family life, by referring to a roll-call of childrearing practices or sociological models of family relationships? This is possible, but it is odd. How could one choose? By what criteria?

Professional attitudes, like other attitudes, are not 'chosen' from a set of standard alternatives on the outside; they develop from the inside. A person brings certain predispositions, beliefs and values, to bear on conditions which an existing form of life, such as a professional activity, presents him with. As a consequence he responds to and makes judgments about situations arising within that context. His beliefs and values, and therefore his feelings and judgments, may be confused, and his knowledge of relevant situations may be inadequate. He can undertake critical scrutiny of his beliefs and values; he can become better informed. If he is to be 'professional' we shall expect this, since his position has to be rationally defensible. At some point, looking from the outside, we may be able to say that his responses to the various aspects of the work have crystallized into a pattern, or reflect a coherent body of assumptions which give a kind of unity to his professional life. We may then be able to speak of a 'style', or fit his attitude into a category, tagged with an academically acknowledged label. But the textbook description attached to that label, the specification which accompanies it in the inventory of theories, will look hopelessly inadequate from the inside: it cannot do justice to the complexity and the personal evolution of his attitude. Presented at the beginning, it would have had almost no role to play in that evolution.

The development of a professional attitude is initiated in the agent himself facing up to the distinctive features of the occupation, and trying to address particular questions connected with those features. It is sustained through reflection and criticism, and modified through experience. Other people can and should help with all of this. They do not all have to be practitioners; it is probably more important that they be reflective, and have the imaginative capacity to stimulate reflection. They may draw upon theoretical work for this purpose. But they will not help much by ignoring the individual's own experiences, motives and beliefs, by simply unloading in front of him a set of paradigms, or seeking to predispose him to one of them. His professional attitude has to be his; otherwise he will be merely acting out a working life, or going through the motions, a state of affairs which I fear is common enough.

Throughout the paper I have been urging tolerance in the matter of professional attitudes; but I have also tried to outline a strategy for thinking systematically about it. If we look at how such attitudes enter into the life of the practitioner and the experience of the client, we can derive a set of general adequacy conditions. These conditions then have to be interpreted by reference to the distinctive features of the occupation in question, to determine the limits of tolerance appropriate to that profession, and the matters relevant to the non-technical aspects of professional training. It should be possible to work along these lines towards the further articulation of a 'professional ethic' in teaching. Meanwhile, we need to resist tendencies among institutional authorities to impose sterotypes and prejudices, and those of us concerned with relevant aspects of teacher-education need to fight against the pressures - which are very formidable - to package and depersonalise educational thought. In reaction to standardised, excessively technical or theory-laden conceptions of professional practice, it has sometimes been said that good teaching depends upon 'personality'. This is right in what it protests against. The mistake lies in its use as a conversation-stopper, with the suggestion that since the personality is private and unfathomable, there is nothing to be done about it, and nothing further to be said. There is a great deal to be said, and it badly needs saying.

NOTES

1. There has been plenty of argument about whether teaching has, or should have this status. See, for example M.L. Cogan, 'Towards a Definition of Profession', Harvard Educational Review (1953); S.V.O Suilleabhain, 'The Profession and Status of Teachers', Oideas (1969); K. Williams, 'Is Teaching a Profession?', E.S.A.I. Proceedings (1980); P.Gordon,(ed.), Is Teaching a Profession? (London University Institute of Education, Bedford Way Papers, No. 15).

2. Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, ed. D.J. Struik, transl. M. Milligan (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1970), p. 110.

3. On the problems of sustaining humbug, see Mary Midgley, 'The Objection to Systematic Humbug' in Heart and Mind. (London: Methuen, 1983).

4. Despite the labours of analytical philosophers of education over more than two decades. One example of a disciplined (though to my mind unsatisfactory) attempt to address some of the relevant questions is John Wilson, Philosophy and Practical Education. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), chs. 1-4.

5. See J.O. Urmson, 'Saints and Heroes' in A.I. Melden (ed.), Essays in Moral Philosophy. (University of Washington Press, 1958).

6. See G. Gaden, 'Indoctrination and Power', Irish Educational Studies, vol. 1 (1981).

7. P.H. Hirst & R.S. Peters, The Logic of Education. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 100.

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LOST IN A BOOK

Tom Mullins

I

I grew up in a house where there were very few books - a school edition of Treasure Island, a small Bible with rather fine line drawings of nubile young men and women and quite a number of comics and annuals. These formed the repeatedly-read core of my early reading experience until I joined the Juvenile Section of the Cork City Library, then a rather august, solemn, brown and beige room reigned over by unsmiling assistant librarians who enforced the monastic rule of silence with stern looks and sibilant whispers. I loved that place - although I was not too sure about the assistant librarians!

Every Friday I would make my pilgrimage to this shrine and find books to fill the long school-less weekend. These books would be read with an absorption that defied most distractions and it was there the trouble started. While my parents were not anti-book in any way, they rightly thought that there were other things to be done, like weeding the garden, polishing shoes and most hated of all by me, whipping cream (by hand) for Sunday dessert! I loathed that job in itself more for its interruption of my other secret world. For usually by Sunday morning I would be settling down to my second library book of the weekend and by 12.30 p.m. would be deeply enraptured, unaware of voices calling me to the hated duty of 'cream-whipping'. Eventually mother would lay a hand on my shoulder and remark on my heedlessness. Being 'heedless' was a strong term of disapprobation in my house and I always felt aggrieved by it; for I could truthfully say that I hadn't heard her calls, not because I didn't want to (which was true) but because my mind and heart were full of more urgent imperative sounds arising from my book world. The corridor of Greyfriars school echoed loudly, the Hispaniola creaked badly when the wind blew from the South-East, and the Coral Island had a rich panoply of squeaks, gibbers and grunts which obscured all else.

The reading experience of the child between roughly 8 - 14 years is quite unique. Never again will a person encounter the virtual experience created by a fiction world with such open-minded curiosity and acceptance. The world with all its possibilities is revealed in books for the first time to young readers, possibilities of excitement, adventures, discoveries and perspectives of mystery and wonder. This period is the very first time (or at least it used to be), the first opportunity for the child to step outside the emotional and imaginative security of home. It feeds him with experiences which can enrich his imaginative world in a manner never to be achieved again: experiences of reading at this age remain touchstones in all kinds of ways mainly emotional and moral for the remainder of our lives.

Jean Paul Sartre in his reminiscences remarks that his early reading of adventure stories, more specifically detective stories, gave him a mythical pattern for his whole life, a ceaseless questioning about the problem of human existence, a kind of metaphysical "who-dun-it". G. Greene claims, in his autobiographical writings, that the books we read as a child are the books which give lifelong colour to our imagination. You are all aware of the darkness of many of Greene's novels so you will not be surprised to hear that the book he thought influenced him most was Marjorie Bowen's The Viper of Milan in which he discovered the world was not made up of black and white (i.e. in moral terms)but rather of black and grey.

I'm sure that many of you here can remember back to books of your tender years - not that you remember details (although you may) but rather you remember more fully a distinctive atmosphere; an atmosphere which invited, enticed and finally enveloped your imagination so that you were truly "lost in a book" undergoing as Shakespeare said in The Tempest "a sea-change/into something rich and strange".

I would like now to look for sometime at this experience of being "lost in a book". We have seen the reasons it happens, we have hinted at its potential effects but what is actually happening while one is in it?

The first characteristic I think is its privacy to the individual person; each of us has a different experience with the same book, each of us re-create in a unique way the fictional story world. As Hermann Hesse remarks "the only part of that story that is true is the part the reader believes", and of course we all believe in different parts. Reading is a creative and interpretative encounter where the young child discovers capacities to think, to feel and to imagine, to make meaning in a way which is distinctly his or her own. At this age a book is frequently re-read many, many times to re-discover and savour this creation of personal meaning. In other words, the experience of being 'lost in a book' becomes a contemplative practice, a move toward transcendence.

Within this self-created world the child is totally free - he can adopt any stance he wishes in relation to the story or become any character or characters in the story. In truth, it seems to me the most valuable way of looking at this experience is to see it as a "play-experience". In a play-experience the child is regularly role-playing, testing his own capacity, discovering his own potential for joy and sorrow, for bravery or anxiety: he is making discoveries about the world and his own relationship to it and modifying his attitudes and stances in the light of his discoveries. Being "lost in a book" is a learning experience in the same way as any play-experience is a learning experience. But it would be a very brash person indeed who would say what any child learns from any book. Only the child himself is aware of that and he alone can articulate it, that is if he can articulate it. What the imagination seizes in any reading of a novel may not be quite what the adult intends the child to seize. This is a very fundamental point for it undermines the position of many well-intentioned advocates of children's books today who seem to be quite clear in their minds what each and every child will receive from Cinderella, i.e. "sexist stereotyping"! - but more on this later.

So far we have seen that being "lost in a book" is a distinctive creative act of the individual child's personal imagination which illuminates for contemplation particular processes of human experiences which qualitatively enriches the child's awareness of life's potential. But I don't think we are finished yet: the reading encounter is with words, with syntax, rhythm and word-shapes of all kinds. Since we make sense of our world internally and externally through language - the active linguistic reality of a book is of moment to the experience being analysed as well. I don't just mean that by reading a child increases his vocabulary, no doubt he does and that is important but in my view there is something even more important; the gathering of phrases and rhythms which will help the child to place order and pattern on his world. He is supplied in worthwhile reading with a language for a wide range of experience which he may have found difficult to verbalise himself. The books in their rhythms and wordshapes give him an outlet for the two great emotions of childhood joy and fear and for much more as well.

Can you remember any phrases from your youthful reading which encapsulate an emotion, a place, or a person for you? I asked my own children and they came up with this array:

(i) 'Whose her, the queen mother's cat'
(ii) 'The oak tree scratched its icy finger against the window pane'
(iii) 'A bear of little brain'
(iv) 'A foxy-gentleman reading the newspaper
(v) 'Jacob Morley was dead, of that there was no doubt!'

These word-shapes of course are a kind of powerful poetry, a poetry which irradiates our own linguistic world with their irony,tone, humour and 'plain rightness' and initiates us into a cultural community thus affirming our sense of identity and belonging.

Being "lost in a book" the more I think upon it seems a truly democratic civilising experience. It is available to all individuals, in their own way, encouraging and tolerating differences and yet ultimately stressing our common humanity. Between the pages of a good book there lies magic which can work its humanising alchemy on any of us.

But like all traditional magic, today the book appears to be looking a little outdated as a source of entertainment for young people. There are forces both within and without the world of books which are making the scene of a child "lost in a book" less prevalent than it was.

Before dealing with these sinister forces in detail in the second section I wish to stress the experience of being "lost in a book" is quite as available as it always was. The world may have changed radically in the last twenty-five years, (certainly Ireland has been transformed out of all recognition in the space of one generation). Children to some degree have apparently changed in many ways; they seem to leave childhood earlier, they are much more 'knowing' about everything and share experiences with adults now that formerly were the preserve of adults. Yet one can still have faith in nature and the intensity of the imagination of the child to openly encounter a fictional world. Nevertheless the creative dialectic explained earlier must take place in a more hostile anti-imaginative environment that did not exist so explicitly heretofore.

II

The anti-imaginative forces are of two kinds; those without the world of books and those within the world of books. I will deal first with the forces from without.

These are quite self-evident; they are the powerful agencies of our increasingly managed, manipulated and commercial culture, television, advertising, video-films and pop-music.

Let me say initially that I think T.V. and Videos are per se wonderful inventions full of rich positive potential for our civilisation. But as with all technology they are capable of devastating dehumanising effects as well, and it needs to be stated that in contemporary life they are generating the latter results. This is manifested most obviously in the low quality of the material disgorged to satisfy the public's carefully cultivated, voracious appetite for sensationalism, thrills and gimmicks of all kinds. What effect does all this stridency have on the child and his book? There are varying views on this matter but some aspects seem clear.

If you offer a child a choice between watching a television programme or reading a book I think in most cases the T.V. would win the day. There are many reasons for this choice, not just because T.V. is a social, public occasion, a shared experience which can be discussed with friends later: as well, T.V. is alive, colourful, fashionable and consistently exciting, the book has little chance in the straight contest. But T.V. programmes in the main are also superficial, cliched in form and language and thus imaginatively and symbolically sterile: children bring little away form T.V. but advertising jingles, visual and verbal inanities and too frequently indigestible gobbets of violence or information which resurface in nightmares or in their rituals of play. T.V. presents a type of experience which seems to me quite anti-book.

But to be fair there is evidence that many are stimulated by T.V. to read a book; that can only be described as marvellous but I wonder how often and how effectively it occurs, more than likely the viewers were readers anyway. Quite as often people will not read the book because they have seen it on television. It is this identification of reading with viewing that is the most insidious danger of all. The creative interpretive act of reading is reduced to the level of the passive receptivity of T.V. watching.

The American historian, Barbara Tuchman, highlights in the following comment the essential difference between book and television

> The essential nature of T.V. is that its programme is designed not for self-expression but to sell something other than itself to the greater number of viewers. Books being self-selected by the consumer, can keep pace with the growing maturity in age and taste, whereas the media on the whole must remain at a level that its programmes believe palatable to the widest possible audience.[1]

The most recent figures illustrate the dominant trend. In a survey in England, boys of fourteen on average watched T.V. for 2 hours per day and read for fifteen minutes.

The attraction of technology for the minds of our youth is no where more evident than in their compulsive response to computers and computer games. This response is not surprising; computers give young children a tremendous sense of power and control; a sense of being inside the great modern adventure of technology ranging from the laser beam to flights through Halley's comet. Technology astounds with its brittle magic and bewitches them.

The most disturbing aspect of the computer game is the "hard-sell" of the technology companies. Children now rush past the book section of the shop to browse in the possibilities offered by the latest gadgetry. The companies sell directly to the children (watch for this kind of line "It's so simple a child will explain it to you"). Martin Goff, Director of the National Book League in Britain had this to say about the attitude of the computer companies:

> The new technology has cost multi-millions to develop ... gigantic investments made, such producers are not going to stand around worrying about the good of society or children. They are going to fight ruthlessly to secure what they consider a fair return on their capital invested. If this means seducing children from books, denying them the glorious heritage that the rest of us have had, so much the worse. They are in business, not welfare.[2]

Let us not forget in the midst of all this wizardry that the experiences being offered are largely prepackaged, formulaic, cultivating skill with the control lever rather like skilled juggling. The encounter with computer games and their ilk have no emotional or worthwhile imaginative reverberations, they are not meant to have and that is their limitation as a creative experience for the child.

These then are the outside forces which are making the experience of being "lost in a book" more difficult for the child to come-by in our times. We cannot expect our children not to be a part of that world; they cannot reject technology and neither can we but we must try to ensure that its flamboyant presence does not crowd out totally the quieter and ultimately more sustaining moments spent with the book.

From within the book world comes the other powers which are anti-imaginative. The first of these is a perennial problem in the area of literature for children

- the problem of genuinely well-motivated, well-intentioned censorship and prescription of books. There is one pattern that repeats itself in any historical overview of children's books and that is the constant presence of parents, teachers, librarians and other guardians of youth with a strong moralising trait in their make-up.

Firstly there were the 18th century Puritans who forbade all such frivolity as folk-tales and fantasy tales and instead presented their children with stories which gave clear and definite guidelines to behaviour. Then in the mid-19th century the young children were given instructions by authors like Sara Trimmer on proper deportment: young ladies were expected to be domesticated, dutiful and accommodating wives and mothers: young gentlemen were, in the mould of Henty, to be courageous, stiff-upperlipped, full of fair play, just outstandingly British really! These books were essentially a form of social propaganda and reinforced the values of the establishment. These were the ideal no other books were permitted unless they were so childish and ridiculous as not to really matter - such as Alice in Wonderland which ironically is the most iconoclastic book imaginable and opened a new era in children's literature, i.e. a book without a clear moral message in which the play of imagination is celebrated and not channelled to a specific moral purpose or social engineering.

Today the moral guardians of youth are just as active but are wearing new clothes and speak a different language, although the ideology is just as negative in its effect on literature. I am referring to the ideologues of the feminist movement, the anti-racist movement, the gay-liberation movement and others who are to quote a recent review of children's fiction

> Like tetchy trolls, clad in the seven league books of literalism searching feverishly in the forests of fairy-tale (and in all children's books, I might add) for instances of sexual, racial or social stereotypes, lurking under the leaves.[3]

In other words all of these assess a book not by the quality of its literary or imaginative dimensions but rather by its freedom from any taint of sin against their beliefs.

There are important distinctions to be made here. No one would wish to give children books which advocate sexism, racism, or hostile attitudes to homosexuality. But in books of the past and present where traits of these attitudes are found but much more besides which is enriching and enhancing to say they are unsuitable for children strikes me as an extreme position. Thus though I am no fan of Enid Blyton, to banish her from public libraries because of her racist, sexist tendencies is ridiculous; she doesn't operate on those levels. Likewise to express reservations about Alice in Wonderland, The Secret Garden and E. Nesbit's books because they are aggressively middle class and so refuse to acknowledge the plight of the working class at that time is somewhat ideologically blinkered.

But the particular example of this attitude which I find most disturbing would be the attitude of feminists who rewrote Cinderella and The Sleeping Beauty because these tales were proclaiming sexist stereotyping and anti-feminist attitudes.

They thought it was unwise to give children a story such as Cinderella because it advocated gentility and submission on the woman's role: this seems to me to have missed the fundamental motif of this fairy-tale which is much more concerned with such matters as sibling rivalry within a family and finding yourself than in sexual stereotyping. The same can be said about The Sleeping Beauty. You can interpret, as the feminists do, that the prince awakens the princess to sexual matters - but the evidence is slight. I think we could assume it was a mutual discovery, I don't see the prince as a "stud" going about awakening an array of sleeping beauties to their sexual potential.

One more point is worth considering in this context; children of both sexes when reading these stories identify not with the rather unimpressive princes (particularly the guy who runs around fitting a glass slipper on ladies' feet) but with the heroine of the stories because the emotional, moral and imaginative power reside in her. I am trying to make the point that the essence of these stories as I see them is found in psychological and mythological motifs and not in sociological conditioning. They are poetic and symbolic statements of archetypal human conditions and cannot be reduced to sexist messages.

A sub-committee of the National Association of Teachers of English in England recently produced a report which they had the bad taste to call Alice in Genderland. The attitude of the report is exemplified when they provide "a checklist of choice criteria" to help teachers to choose books for children. Here are some of the questions asked:

(1) What positive attitude does this book present to children about the lives of women?

(2) Are women shown at work outside the home?

(3) Are they in managerial roles?

(4) Are men shown to take responsibility for a large range of tasks in the home?

I wonder how on such a check list Beatrix Potter would fare? I don't think Mrs Tiggy-Winkle or Jemina Puddle-duck would get very far. Perhaps we should forbid Mid-Summer Night's Dream and Animal Farm because nearly all the fantasy figures in these works are male. Let us remember that "where a book has any degree of imaginative life there are no general criteria by which we can consider its suitability." [4]

I think it would be true to say that the most powerful people in the world of children's books are the publishers: Children's books in the last twenty years have become big money-spinners for the publishing companies. Under pressure from publishers some authors have cultivated a new genre in children's literature - the genre of the "problem novel". It began in the mid-sixties in the U.S. and since then has grown prodigiously. What do I mean by a "problem novel"? Well it is quite simply a novel which deals with a problem that young people might face growing up, dating, sex, divorce of parents, death of a parent, pregnancy, abortion, being a homosexual, the list is endless and narrow.

They are obviously very attractive to young people because they have a superficial relevance to their lives.

The books offer a kind of *bibliotherapy* for adolescents who have similar problems to the characters in the book and that is possibly a good thing one might think. Perhaps, but it makes me distinctly nervous; no therapy worth its name works in a generalised way, all therapy must be personal and individual: for a young child to imitate the behaviour of a character in a book may be just the most destructive action he could follow. Sheila Egoff has remarked that problem novels like this are really 'mocking-birds', convincing imitations but certainly not the real thing either as human experience or literature.

They are not the real thing as far as I am concerned because their intentionality is an obfuscation of the true dialogue which is the literary process. Books which have palpable designs on readers are not good books. Literature of any quality does not seek to give neat rounded answers, but rather to insistently ask questions; it does not define boundaries but opens up possibilities for the reader. To recommend a book to a child because it is apparently relevant to a problem the child may have is not to invite him into the joy of literature; he might get lost in the problem and not in the book. We can be sure that the publishers really don't care once the book has been bought.

The trouble with all this adult theorising about the 'problem novels' is that they are invariably popular with young people: Judy Blume is read much more frequently than Phillips Pearce. Why are these novels so popular? Sheila Egoff suggests there are two reasons in the main: prurience and peer group pressure;[5] very few of us guardians will overcome these two forces, nor perhaps should we try. First let us be aware that these books are exploitative and manipulative of vulnerable young people's feelings in the same way as is second rate journalism depending "on the shock value of the subject to catch and hold rather than skill in narration".[6] July Blume's Tiger Eyes manages to include violent death of father, alcoholic teenager, teenage sex, a cancer victim, all in a style which is cloying and manipulative. Robert Cormier, in books like The Chocolate War and After the first Death is even more ruthlessly shocking.

These books seem to me even more negative than the previous category because of their taking advantage of the young person's thirst to know, they do not allow the free play of imagination that literature does because they weigh it down with explicitness. 'The problem novel' is a problem for all of us and it is likely to remain that way. There is hope, in that eventually many young people will simply retreat from this surfeit of brutal realism and look for a more amenable programme for this imagination.

Finally the last force within the world of children and books which is resolutely unimaginative is the way reading is taught in most of our primary schools. Admittedly over the last few years the basal readers have improved somewhat but the methodology of reading has not improved and the imaginative experiences that reside in the story are literally minced and reduced to boring workbooks full of philistinic questions. There isn't much chance of free-play there and the child loses all sense of the story and its power for pleasure and personal recreation. As margaret Spencer has recently remarked,

> So why, in teaching children to read and write, do we give all our attention to the surface structures of language and ignore the differentiations the learner can make, if we let him, between ways if saying. Our

> passion for simple texts has confused simplicity with over simplification. 'And it was still hot' at the end of Where the Wild Things Are is a loaded statement which includes 'And my Mother loved me just the same'. There is nothing rhetorically poetic about Sendak's language, yet between the first sentence and the last the reader has 'dipped a finger into Fafnir' and 'traded another's sorrow for his own'....
>
> If we offer children a share in our belief that language is a mode of apprehending they will respond to a great many ways of telling. 'Literacy is useful' is an idea like 'communication' that ignores language as a means of growth. The virtual experience of the sequence and salience of literature, language 'in the spectator role', however defined, extends and confirms the inner fiction which is our way of interpreting the world. As the world grows more complicated and our handling of it more necessary, the transcultural mode of writing more prevalent and more threatening, so we need readers who know that print gives them power, otherwise we may find we have children who can read but don't - who assume that they are society's victims. [7]

The "lost in a book" experience is obviously under pressure today although I think one could be reasonably confident that it will survive. Nevertheless our role as book advocates is to ensure that the book, the symbolic fiction, with its civilising potential becomes more attractive and more available to more young people.

III

In the final section of this paper I want to outline a broad strategy for fostering such an ideal.

To foster reading of worthwhile literature by our young people we need to go into the offensive and educate parents and teachers at all levels of the vast range of material that is available. The ignorance of those who should know better is astounding; worse than that, the smiling condescension with which many of these approach the topic of children's literature is reprehensible: somehow they intimate that they know it has some importance but to take it seriously as literature, well that is to expect too much! The courses on children's literature available to Third Level institutions in this country could be easily counted on one hand: there is no academic course in the genre available as far as I know. Staff members in many of these institutions are frequently heard bemoaning the failing literacy levels in our schools; their informed solution is 'back to basics'. It would be a more positive move on their part if they fostered in their students a keen awareness of the power of fictional narratives to illuminate language with pleasure and wonder for a child. The resulting change in attitude in the child, from resigned boredom to a delighted interest in words would have obvious knock-on effects for general literacy standards.

Likewise at second level the attitude to literature for youth is not enthusiastic. Rarely are English classes for example given time for the silent reading of a personally chosen book; this would be seen as a waste of time whereas in actual fact it can be the most worthwhile of exercises. Such a regular practice nurtures the kind of atmosphere needed to foster "the lost in a book' experience: the adolescent will hardly find the time and the space elsewhere for it.

Two other aspects of secondary school practice in English need to be urgently reviewed. The class readers in many schools in first year are those abominable comprehension books with various leaden titles full of intrigueing passages with titles like, Bee-Keeping in Austria or By Tak to Afghanistan, marvellously stimulating to would-be readers: The usual companion for these texts are almost invariable one of the following novels: I am David, The Hobbit, Daddy Longlegs, a thin and rather staid diet for today's youth.

First year secondary pupils should be literally saturated with fiction books of all kind, challenged and excited by the range and variety of experience available and encouraged to read widely and quickly but occasionally shown how to read more deeply. We need to educate our pupils into not alone what to read for their own personal enrichment but also how to read it for most pleasure and satisfaction.

Finally the secondary school curriculum with its neglect of most 20th century novels written for the adolescent age-groups is a victim of a narrow conception of the nature of literary experience; a conception that places the emphasis on the text rather than on the quality of the encounter between text and pupil. The curriculum designers of twenty years ago attempted unwisely to hurry youth into a love for adult literature where the experience being offered contained little personal resonance for most of their young readers. While being personally sympathetic totally to the aim of enrichment, the curriculum designers should have attempted to take the adolescent as he was and shown how to enrich his present world rather than looking to the future. A large selection of adolescent literature would have achieved this and admirably. It seems more imperative each year that such a curriculum should be introduced.

But is it not enough just to provide material we must also create an environment, a context of qualitative experience which will influence the young person. Specifically we should try to create a 'story environment', "a context of storying" throughout the educational experience. This is present to a degree (and only to a small degree) in primary school; there needs to be much more. At second level it seems to vanish, Secondary teachers are generally embarrassed by story-telling and reading and so avoid the activity. Certainly in teacher education courses the experience of storying in all its forms should be a prevalent and persuasive.

We must create time and space for children to find themselves in books and stories. They are put-upon aggressively to-day by the ad-men and the purveyors of pop culture because of their consumer potential: such an invasion of their inner world stunts the personal sensibility, the specific forms of feeling which constitute a personal consciousness. Even in libraries today, the decor has changed; they are now bright, open, welcoming places as they should be but they also have become much noisier. I don't see why we should deduce that all children enjoy noise all the time; an alternative might be offered where they can withdraw, where they can just simply be. Certainly in many homes today there is little space for a quiet corner, (one of my children goes behind a curtain, wraps it around herself and tries to become invisible in her book world). All libraries might try to create a quiet area for this 'contemplative' purpose: the library of my youth may have been austere but it attracted me invariably because of its slow rhythms of silence.

A major problem for all concerned about books and children is the lack of contact between us, the absence of a unified concerted policy in this area. This country badly needs an association to promote children's literature to regulate and unify approaches and give support to individuals striving on their own in isolated regions both urban and rural. It is hoped that in this year, 1987, such an association will be established and I know I can count on the support of the E.S.A.I. in this venture.

Finally, one of the mistakes that can be made in fostering children's literature is to capitulate to the competition and adapt their techniques of manipulation. We must avoid such betrayals of trust, and present to our youth a human face which cares and invites, an unshakable belief in the significance of what we are doing, and an infectious enthusiasm for the enrichment that a book can bring.

NOTES

1. B. Tuchman quoted in M. Goff "1984 - The Managed Culture", *Books for Keeps*, No. 24, January, 1984, p. 5.

2. M. Goff, "1984 - The Managed Culture", *Books for Keeps*, No. 24, January, 1984, p. 4.

3. *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 November, 1985, p. 1360.

4. R. Knight, "Language, Literature and Social Engineering", *Use of English*, Summer 1980, p.70.

5. S. Egoff, "Beyond the Garden Wall", *Top of the News*, Spring 1979, p. 264.

6. Ibid., p. 265.

7. M. Spencer, "The Place of Literature in Literacy: 'Dip a Finger into Fafnir'". *English Teaching: An International Exchange*, edit. J. Britton. (London: Heinemann, 1984), p. 93.

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AN ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH TO CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Beatrice Wortley

The In-Service B.Ed degree offered at the University of Ulster is based on action research aspiring to what Carr and Kemmis[1] have designated emancipatory action research. They describe it as follows:

> Emancipatory action research establishess the conditions under which it can identify and expose those aspects of the social order which frustrate rational change, and provides the basis for action to overcome irrationality, injustice and domination. It does so by creating conditions within the group which embody rational discourse for mutual understanding (symmetrical communication), participatory decision making for social justice, and collaborative action for social solidarity. Those internal conditions create concrete contradictions between the work of the action research group and the ideology and institutions within which the group works. The group may then propose and undertake coordinated strategic action aimed at overcoming these contradictions as a political struggle.

This quotation encapsulates my experience of action research. I have examples of work from teachers which demonstrate the ideals described in the quotation. I must draw attention, however, to the last sentence of the quotation "The group may then propose and undertake coordinated strategic action aimed at overcoming these contradictions as a political struggle." This is the ditch at which the teachers fall. The stage of institutionalising their reforms defeats them. Because the teachers taking the degree are normally from different schools even working as a group is not

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sufficient support to carry them through the opposition which realistically they can anticipate in their respective schools.

This paper sets out to amplify this situation by describing what I have found on the occasions when one of my units, Literature and Reading in the Primary school, is running.

The rationale for the unit is to unite language and literature to off-set the unnatural divorce that exists between the two throughout the education system. The unit has been taught for several years and the work that comes in suggests an emphasis on teaching reading throughout the primary school using a skills approach. This approach to reading was reinforced by the Bullock Report[2] where Part Three entitled *Reading* starts off with a chapter articulating *The Reading Process* as consisting of:

- Primary Skills
  - Letter and word perception
    - Learning to recognise letters
    - The relationship between sounds and letters: problems and solutions

- The Intermediate Skills
  - Learning to anticipate
    - Letter and phoneme sequences
    - Word and syntactic sequences
    - Meaning and the use of context cues
  - Using the intermediate skills
    - in combination
    - The use of Cloze procedure
    - Anticipation and the vocabulary of reading schemes

- Comprehension Skills
    - Literal comprehension
    - Reorganisation
    - Inferential comprehension
    - Evaluation v appreciation

- Flexible reading strategies
- Acquiring and organising information: general implications

Reading schemes, so deeply embedded in the majority of schools, and inevitably the teachers who use them, latch on to teaching these skills. This is done in the name of reading. The teachers' books accompanying the schemes are, in effect, answer books so that a teacher following them unthinkingly is putting children in a straight jacket. Teachers hold discussions with the children but with a purpose, to elicit particular answers with no suggestion that a child's comment which falls outside this and reveals what the story means to her personally should be valued. Just as in the section of the Bullock Report [3] devoted to Reading where children's literature is placed last, so in schools it is relegated and teachers, aping the reading schemes, refer to children's literature as supplementary material!

My aim for the unit is to suggest an alternative to the traditional approach to reading involving a change form teaching reading to helping children learn to read. It is intended that teachers will be lead to question prevailing practice and feel a compulsion to follow through to find answers. My contribution to achieve this aim is two-fold: one, I provide a list of indicative reading [4] selected to give a perspective on this approach to reading so that the teachers' analysis of data, explanatory and action hypotheses are informed by a reading background. There is an additional difficulty relating to this work. It is not sufficient that teachers become sympathetic to it, to carry it out effectively they must become conversant with the field of children's literature. In the short duration of the unit, this can only be initiated, e.g. by supplying references to source material. Secondly, I indicate the weekly patterns that will be followed during the fifteen week duration of the unit. The weekly pattern which I lay down indicates what will take place each time we meet, but additionally this organisation is bound up with the pattern of the research that the individual teacher will undertake. It owes its origin to *The Action Research Planner*[5] a publication which needs careful handling to avoid teachers seeing action research as a mechanical method. To begin the teacher is asked to collect data on present practice. This might mean logging over a specified time period (a day or a week) the occasions when a group of children are asked to carry out an activity considered to be 'reading'. The data collected by each teacher is presented and analysed at a seminar session. After this, the teacher reflects on her situation and proposes an action step designed to effect improvement. The action step is monitored and an evaluation of the exercise is carried out. It is unnecessary to go further into detail about the process of the actual Unit. What I want to highlight in this paper is the potential of action research (in initiating the teacher as a researcher) and also the reality where in effect the teacher is prevented by circumstances from carrying through so that action research is truncated, halted before it can gain momentum. I have divided the work of primary school teachers into three sections: infant, junior and remedial. The examples I have drawn on for illustration are taken from the work done by the teachers. They should not be regarded as isolated examples of classroom research. Of the many assignments that come in, these can be regarded as representing general findings.

Description of Present Practice

Infant Classes

The emphasis in infant classes is on teaching initial reading. In almost every case, children are put through a series of primers graded in difficulty. Teachers are often obsessed with developing reading skills but in practice, the parents play their part by ensuring that their child knows her reading (the pages the teacher has indicated) for school each day. Even as early as Primary 1, children are given this homework to prepare with the parents' help. Generally, in the classroom, there is a collection of books suited to the age of the children, which they can use during free activity time and usually the teacher reads a story each day.

Junior Classes

At this stage, many teachers still use a reading scheme. There is usually a class library where children may choose books to read in their spare time. Often teachers are not worried by the use children make of the class library. They accept a situation where they assume that the better readers read and the weaker children read less.

Remedial Teachers

These teachers may be peripatetic looking after the remediation of groups of children in a number of schools. Whether these teachers are peripatetic or employed in one school, the normal procedure is that they test and assess the children's weaknesses, then slot them into the appropriate level on a programme. Thereafter, the children perform graded exercises and drills on so-called reading skills and their scores or achievements are recorded. Having reached a level designated satisfactory, remediation is considered to be complete and the process is discontinued. In such circumstances, real books play little part. A few of the teachers I meet are exceptions. One peripatetic teacher I know actually goes to the extent of carrying a small library in her car. For her, real books are important and there is no other way to provide the children with them.

Data Collection, Analysis and Action Step

Infant Classes

Analysis of data collected by these teachers often reveals that while the majority of the children are coping more or less satisfactorily with the reading scheme, a small group of children remain non-readers. The usual action step in these circumstances is to check the reaction of the non-reading children to a range of good quality picture books, e.g. those of Eric Carle, Pat Hutchins, Shirley Hughes, the Ahlbergs, John Burningham.

Junior Teachers

Junior teachers are often shocked to find that the children they considered 'good readers' either read nothing beyond what the school requires or they read poor quality, ephemeral material. The average to poor children may not read fiction at all. In a class where reading time is relegated to the time when class work is completed, slower children may need all the time there is and more to finish the mandatory exercises and so they do no reading in schools and such children are unlikely to read significantly at home. For an action step, teachers often set about revitalising the class library. They issue note-books where children record their reading and comment on it; in addition, time may be set aside for reading each day.

Remedial Teachers

These teachers are often led to voice suspicions that some of them have long held; that their charges are dull in respect only of reading. Data brought in has revealed children with amazing knowledge of subjects like Nature Study. The action step taken by teachers is to set themselves to find out the interests of the individual pupils which they try to match with books. Books chosen in this way may be mechanically too difficult for the children so that the teacher has to provide liberal help such as reading chunks aloud every day. An interesting assignment along these lines come from a teacher whose data convinced her that one of her pupils was perfectly capable of reading but he refused to do so. Delicately the teacher probed until the child divulged, incidentally, that his father ridiculed his reading material. The boy was nine years old but being labelled 'remedial' he was given primers. The teacher realised this might be the root of the problem. She substituted real books on nature - his passion - for the primer material.

Monitoring and Conclusions

Infant Teachers

Several infant teachers have found that slow learners can be tempted by well illustrated picture books. Using these, the children learn how to handle books. They are so attractive the children are drawn to them; they pick them up, study the pictures and talk about them. In other words, they take their first steps as readers. The teachers conclude that all children should receive the benefit of this approach to reading using real books.

Junior Classes

With proficient readers who do not choose to read - the so-called reluctant readers - some teachers have found that their own measure of interest in books is matched, even outweighed, by that of the children. One teacher was delighted at the range of intelligent suggestions coming from the class. These included that the books should be displayed; that discussions, not interrogations, should be held; that the book stock should be bolstered with donations from individuals in the class. The conclusion is for the teacher to request that fiction be bought rather than text books or non-fiction.

Remedial Teachers

The remedial teacher who gave the boy books on Nature found that the child accepted them. He struggled but he persisted and he asked for more. His self respect had been restored. The teacher concluded that she should pursue this practice with all the children. The examples I have given represent the potential of an action-research approach. By adopting the stance of researchers, teachers try out changes of practice. As the examples show, the teachers quickly get to the heart of things. As can be seen, however, in every case, for progress to continue the teachers' next step must be to confront the established system in their schools. For the infants teacher to replace primers with real books would involve the agreement of colleagues to scrap the existing reading scheme, vast expenditure to restock and a radical revision of school policy. Even to practise her innovation within the confines of her own classroom is not feasible. If the rest of the school uses primers, her class would be disadvantaged when they passed to the next teacher. Similarly, the junior school teacher would find herself at odds with colleagues over cutting down on the ordering of information books and over letting the school stock of text books, which is often shared amongst classes, run down. The remedial teacher would find herself engaged in attempting to change the views of the school psychologist as well as her colleagues in the school. In every case, it is clear that the individual teacher would hesitate to broach a move towards change. To introduce such ideas would upset the status quo. The political dimension of action research emerges. So, in effect, the fundamental aim of the degree, to improve practice, is defeated at the institutional level.

This is a negative note but it is not the concluding note. There is a positive side which is that these teachers have been awakened. They will never be the same again. They will have to bide their time before they can effect any significant changes but within the limits imposed on them, they can effect action steps which might include facilitating each others' work by arranging meetings where teachers exchange ideas, visiting each others' classrooms and schools and generally working together. Such practices are particularly important for teachers wishing to use children's literature more extensively. Contrary to naive opinion, this is a difficult area which involves much more than pushing books at children. At present, literature on the subject is expanding apace and the teacher must keep abreast of it, a demanding task for the initiated, possibly an overwhelming one for the novice to the area.

The type of network I have described is something teachers must organise for themselves. Those who have done the degree have perhaps some slight advantage in having worked in this way. In effect, it amounts to a form of peer evaluation, informal, unofficial, positive, more effective than evaluation imposed from above. Education will improve when the doors of classrooms are thrown wide open in this way.

Finally, to recap, I have demonstrated the stage action research has reached in respect of one particular unit. This is creditable in the few years the unit has been running but to effect the final stage is more important and more difficult. It demands a commitment from teachers to collaborate in pursuing what are patently professional activities.

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2. Bullock Report, A Language for Life. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), Part 3

3. Ibid., Section 8:14 - 8:18.

4. A list of indicative reading might include:

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SUBJECT INTEGRATION AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH A NON-DIRECTIVE INVESTIGATIVE GROUP PROJECT WITHIN AN UNDERGRADUATE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

S. L. Fawcett and S. E. Laverty

Introduction

The Department of Hotel Catering and Tourism Studies at the University of Ulster has an on-going policy towards the evolution and development of teaching strategies which are efficacious in preparing students for their careers in the Catering Industry. This paper attempts to outline the rationale, the underpinning theory and the operationalisation of such a strategy.

Research into the career profiles of catering managers[1] has identified those attributes, skills and specialist areas of knowledge which are commonly utilised or otherwise considered to be valuable by a wide cross section of professional caterers. To a great extent these knowledge requirements mirror the general syllabus content extant in Further and Higher Education. Further, this study reinforced the Department's belief that teaching must be integrated to help students to bridge discipline boundaries. Moreover, the importance of developing those interpersonal skills associated with managing, being managed by and working with people was highlighted. Consequently the learning objectives of our courses focus on more than just academic achievement in the cognitive domain but on the holistic application of knowledge to multi-disciplinary industry related problems and the personal development of students as individuals suitably equipped for survival and career success in our rapidly changing society.

However the attainment of the above objectives may be impeded by "Traditional" education. Management courses show a sequential development of themes or disciplines which for pedagogic, logistic, bureaucratic or administrative reasons appear to follow "Traditional" structures. However, the problems faced and the decisions made by catering managers rarely fall within one discipline area, they are generally multi-disciplinary by nature. If one accepts that meeting the career and developmental needs of the individual, the managerial and operational needs of industry, and the wider needs of society are all valid objectives of vocational education, then one must question traditional course structure and academia for it's own sake.

The authors have found through experience that students appear to cope fairly adequately with 4-6 subject disciplines per academic year, but they tend to treat each area of study as separate entities which have very little relation to one another. Students, as they move from class to class, change their "discipline hats" and rigidly slot these hour long, packages of information into "discipline pigeon holes". When attempting to deal with a high level of information input across a wide range of disciplines, this encapsulation represents a relatively logical method for dealing with and organising new knowledge. Such cognitive departmentalisation may be relevant to examination success, but this enclosure can artificially cocoon knowledge and create barriers to integrative behaviour and decision making.

A number of mechanisms are available to educationalists which help in breaking down artificial boundaries, in forging links between disciplines and in nurturing integrative thinking. These include cross modular assignments, tutorials and projects. This paper examines one such mechanism, an integrative group project, which has shown itself to be beneficial in preparing students for industry.

Underlying Philosophy

In the same way that Education tends to reflect the society it is within, the teaching strategies that educators adopt tend to reflect their own philosophies and theories of teaching. Consequently the authors, in commissioning and operationalising the Major Project, draw upon Rogers' "Non-Directive Teaching" and Thelen's "Group Investigation" models which reflect their own philosophies of teaching.

Psychologist Carl Rogers espouses in *Freedom to Learn*[2] a non-directive approach to teaching. Rogers believes that we cannot teach directly, only facilitate learning and that a supportive, non-threatening, student-centred environment nurtures self development as well as achieving more obvious academic goals.

Herbert Thelen follows John Dewey's philosophy that schools should be "miniature democracies"[3] as he relates the democratic processes within the group investigation approach. Thelen also reasons that there are " ... emotional elements to inquiry" and that "... a learning situation is one which involves the emotions of the learner".[4] He considers that the social drive inherent in group processes is sufficiently strong to generate a challenge and to motivate the individual.. Once in motion the dynamics of the group investigation process continue to provide drive.

Rogers and Thelen provide the theoretical underpinning for the structure and organisation of the group project which attempts to translate from the artificiality of separate disciplines to a multi-disciplinary problem solving and learning approach.

The Operationalisation of a Non-Directive Investigative Project

The "Major Project" [5] is one of six areas of study in the final year of the BA in Catering Administration. The class is divided into "Action groups" of 6-7 persons and are set a "Green Field" project which embraces all aspects of catering from the inception of a business concept through feasibility study to the planning for a full operational management of the venture, e.g. the development potential of a "green field" site in the Belfast city centre.

It is the experience of the tutors that students respond more enthusiastically to real-life situations and problems. Consequently great pains have been taken in the selection and design of project briefs to ensure that they are as realistic as possible and also that there is a reserve of live data and real locations for the students to investigate.

The class as a whole is given a detailed brief followed by a discussion on general objectives and project administration. Each group is required to conduct a complete feasibility study and business plan. The project is conducted over a period of twenty weeks. Each week the subject tutors (usually two) meet with each group for 30-40 minutes. Between their tutored sessions the students conduct individual research and hold group discussions. In the early stages the tutors help the teams to set weekly, long term, group and individual tasks and goals. During these meetings previous work is

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appraised and objectives for the following days are set. In the early stages the tutors lead in the informal monitoring process, focusing on balance and equity rather than on ranking or grading. The staff then move into the background as the students become more in control of their own and the group's learning. At the timetabled sessions the academic staff help the students in setting objectives and in evaluating individual performance in relation to pre-set and group goals.

The tutors facilitate planning and progress during each weekly session where students are aided and encouraged to take more of the initiative in setting objectives and evaluating personal and group performance. The staff informally monitor progress and individual input, to ensure equity of workloads. As early as 1914, W.H. Kilpatrick[6] in discussing the project method suggested that on parameter of teacher success in the procedure was the degree to which he moved into the background of the process. Indeed on of the primary ingredients for reaction, is the students' increasing confidence in their own ability to take charge of their own learning and development.

Even today though, there is still a strong "traditionalist" or work ethic among academics, which sets against the teacher taking anything other than an active, leading role in student learning experiences. The tutors attempt to generate a benign learning environment through democratic example, by being non-directive and playing an advisory/facilitative role. Staff act as sounding boards or draw out students' ideas and opinions, encouraging the exploration of new ideas and alternatives. At this stage the informal evaluation and feedback of the peer group merges with that of the staff.

Consequently, in order to achieve educational objectives in the cognitive and affective domain an informal, low social structure is required, where the staff demonstrate that they and their opinions are no more than equal to the students and their opinions. The project also requires open ended information sources and tutors who have sufficient self confidence and flexibility to apply the model in the classroom.

The dynamics of the group project

It is the authors' belief that, by using a group project as a multi-disciplinary integrative mechanism within the final year of a degree course, students are helped to develop personal and managerial skills. Working within an action group is a new experience for most students, where each individual must learn to adapt to and manage dynamic, unstructured issues and situations. It would appear that students emerge from this initially perplexing and frustrating situation with maturity and the potential to more adequately deal with managerial tasks such as organising, delegating, communicating, initiating and monitoring. The action groups learn in a practical manner the problems of team building and experience the synergy of people working together to accomplish major tasks.[7] Throughout the period of "action learning" most students become aware of the need for supportive interdependence among the team members, coupled with the need for individual differentiation and creativity. Students are confronted with problems of distribution of authority, influence and power within the group and in turn they develop methods for dealing with the conflict and aggression which can arise in all teamwork in the security of a relatively non-threatening environment.

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During the project the students demonstrate mutual support and the ability to construct or face criticism. As the organisation of tasks and the delegation of responsibilities are important factors in the attainment of corporate goals the students become increasingly involved in decision making which ensures that valid and equitable contributions are being made. They develop their skills in communicating, collaborating and co-operating on all issues in question. A bond of trust is generated as the teams become more effective. The students have been confronted with issues of power, authority, conflict, frustration, failure and success. By working together towards the satisfactory completion of the project the process of building self-esteem, self-sufficiency, self-worth and self-confidence is greatly facilitated.[8]

The problem of assessment in group project work

The major project is geared towards meeting educational objectives in both the cognitive and affective domains. However the tutors are still faced with the extrinsic requirement for student ranking in a study area where the group processes and activities are, in effect, goals in themselves and are difficult to quantify in numeric terms. Consequently, the tutors were forced to create assessment procedures which could be considered to be somewhat artificial. Artificial, in that the marking concentrated on the cognitive domain which is logically and ethically, more easily quantifiable than evaluation in the affective domain.

At the outset, the main focus in the assessment strategy was on a bound document containing the student group's feasibility study and business proposal. In this orientation it is possible to examine a document and assess it with a degree of objectivity, according to a published marking scheme under a number of headings to produce a mark for each group. The tangible nature of the document permits internal and external terminal assessment in a formal manner. This only partially satisfies the need for comparative ranking as it does not differentiate between the members of each group, nor does it give the student ongoing feedback. Also, it only represents product testing which to a great extent ignores the process and in doing so ignores those nurturant objectives in the affective domain. There is the final point that concentration by staff and students on those objectives which are readily quantifiable, can mitigate against other valuable educational objectives which are difficult to measure or only have long term developmental outcomes (outside the artificiality of the academic year or course). [9 & 10]

In order to satisfy the external need for nomothetic assessment the tutors have applied and tested a number of mechanisms. This process has resulted in the evolution of a model where there is a discretionary allocation of marks which is disbursed democratically by the group. Each group debates and decides by consensus upon their recommendations for the disbursement of the discretionary ten per cent and present their case for allocation to the tutors.

It was hoped that this approach would encourage the groups and individuals to look objectively and impartially at their work performance, to allocate discretionary marks reasonably equitably and to reward each student according to their peers' perceptions of effort, initiative, leadership proficiency, planning ability etc. The tutors considered that the ranking by the group democratic process could lead to greater accuracy and equity of assessment.

Those involved with the course, including the external examiners, believe that this more recent strategy represents a genuine improvement in the validity of the marking. They also consider that it adds a valuable new dimension to the learning environment. This new dimension is that the students, in the knowledge that they will be judged by their group, in experiencing the activity of democratically assessing and being assessed by their peers may be better prepared for their future in the world of commerce. However the authors consider that this mechanism for group assessment and individual ranking provides only an incomplete answer which requires further development.[11]

Summary of student and staff reaction

Through in-depth discussion with students, employed graduates, external examiners, observation of the students during the project and the application of mid-session and terminal questionnaires it is possible to make a number of points regarding the "Major Project".

At first students were perplexed, confused and frustrated at being on their own. They were unsure of how far to go in any direction and unsure in deciding what was relevant. They were unhappy that tutors were non-prescriptive and not prepared to draw precise operating boundaries and constraints. Working in groups also created confusion, frustration and some intra-group conflict during the initial stages of investigation. However, through time and practice the students gained confidence in their ability to make decisions regarding direction, depth and relevance and in self or group evaluation.

Early conflict, associated with group dynamics, proved to be little more than a teething problem which, though frustrating at first,served to strengthen the groups' common bonds and purposes. The students were helped to relate previous and concurrent studies and the project showed itself to be an effective catalyst for compelling them to view catering situations within the totality of their industrial and curriculum knowledge. The project enhanced students' confidence in their ability to tackle projects outside of the protected educational environment. This point regarding professional self-confidence in tackling major, complex problems and in their ability to work within the complex social structure of industry as effective managers was reinforced by the responses of Graduates currently employed in the Catering Industry. Graduates considered that they were helped to see the relevance of the components of the course at an early stage and were confident to apply these in their own careers.

The first few weeks of the project proved to be somewhat nerve wracking for staff, as the act of "non-teaching" can represent an antithesis of normal professional practice. The level of professionalism exhibited by the students and peer recognition of the educational benefits of the teaching mechanism helped to alleviate this dissonance. The tutors have had experience in the administration of a wide range of projects and are satisfied that the changes imposed on the learning environment by a group project are evolutionary rather than revolutionary and should have minimal potential for deleterious consequences on student development. In practice the benefits outweigh any dysfunctional aspects.

Educational objectives in the cognitive domain pertaining to areas such as market research, product planning, systems using, budgeting, finance, organisation and group behaviour can be met through a variety of teaching strategies. It would appear however that the group project approach can have valuable benefits in relation to the attainment of objectives in the affective domain which can improve the student's potential to work with, motivate and to relate to other people in the catering industry. From their exposure to the dynamics of group activity in a non-directional learning environment the students came to appreciate what were (in other concurrent studies) theoretical constructs regarding group behaviour. In being forced to deal with others in a task oriented work group the students learn to appreciate the opinions of others and the unique contribution which each individual is capable for making.[12]

The need for nomothetic assessment will continue to be a problem area due to the environmental obstacles which arise if accountability is not evidenced by individual ranking. However, this in no way negates the valuable experience of student learning which occurs through group democratic processes. The authors are aware that "we live in an era when everybody adores evidence" [13] and it is the extrinsic requirement for accurate, realistic evidence that causes the problem, not the concept of the group process itself.

Conclusion

Through their experience of the Major Project and the support of current research it is the belief of the subject tutors that in being faced with a total catering problem the action groups and their members are forced to draw on previous and concurrent studies in synthesising a solution. This cogitation helps the students to break down the artificial barriers which exist between disciplines and to approach catering problems as holistic caterers rather than specialist marketeers, personnel practitioners, or accountants and to do so in a manner which is conducive to more effective catering management. Also, this teaching strategy in it's attempt to simulate group activity in the work place helps to better prepare our students for interpersonal relationships in the harsh world of career and commerce. Overall, the belief is that the Non-Directive Integrative Group Project is a valid and valuable mechanism for the creation of more complete catering managers through subject integration and personal development.

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TEACHER EMPOWERMENT IN A CURRICULUM PROJECT

Diarmuid Leonard

Introduction

At the previous ESAI Conference calls were made for research into the processes by which curriculum proposals are turned into effective practice. Such calls bring to mind Reid's[1] criticism of curriculum researchers' failure to

> grasp the nettle of connecting practice with the decisions that produced it and to ask... "Was this an appropriate way to go about identifying the problem, proposing solutions, and judging which one should be developed?"

This paper considers the choice of strategy employed in a current curriculum project on evaluation in physical education. In particular it considers the importance of teacher empowerment in that strategy.

Origins and Context

In a recent survey Michael Darmody, a Department of Education Inspector in Physical Education, found no teachers of physical education who practised regular systematic comprehensive assessment. His findings [2] have been set against some special constraints[3] in the work context of most physical education teachers.

i) A key fact in this context is that there are no certificated examinations in schools' physical education. Because it is not examinable, physical education is often allocated very little time: an average of 60 to 70 minutes for pupils in Years One and Two, declining to 48 minutes in Years Three, Four and Five.[4] Little classtime is available for testing purposes.

ii) The physical education teacher has only 'fleeting contact'[5] with the students because of the shortage of time allocated to him/her. It becomes very difficult then to assess every individual.

iii) As the physical education teacher's weekly throughput of students is among the very highest in the school, the workload of assessing, then recording and processing assessment data would be exceptionally heavy.[6]

iv) Finally, appropriate assessment procedures do not appear to be available to the teacher of physical education.

In view of these difficult circumstances Darmody's findings are perhaps not surprising. Yet conventional wisdom insists on the importance of evaluation and assessment in every teacher's work. Concern about the apparently complete absence of systematic assessment led to the decision to initiate an intervention. But what form of intervention? What options were open, and how should such a choice be made? And how to take account of the situational analysis described above?

Determining an appropriate form of intervention

'Intervention is never atheoretical; it always implies some view of what the curriculum is and what theories and metaphors should guide its planning'.[7] The nature of intervention depends on how the problem - in this case the absence of evaluation and assessment from teachers' practice - is conceived, on how the process of innovation is understood, and on the status and role attributed to the teacher in educational innovation.

Possible conceptions of the problem include these: that we know what good practice is but that teachers for whatever reasons are ignorant of it; or that good practice has yet to be invented by experts in this area; or that no-one really knows what kind of pupil assessment Irish physical education teachers should conduct. Choice of intervention is influenced also by the image of the teacher held by the initiators; for example as a candidate for training, in which he/she is provided with the understandings and skills that he/she lacks at present; or as the possibly unwilling target of persuasion to adopt an innovation; or as a professional capable of defining and investigating the problem. Conceptions of curriculum problems, of innovation and of the teacher's proper status in translating curriculum ideas into action combine in the choice of a method of intervention, e.g. to mount an inservice training programme aimed at making good a deficit in teachers; or to diffuse, and persuade teachers to adopt, a new practice; or to institute a curriculum project to develop possible solutions to the problem.

Since the problem was considered to be difficult and complex requiring experiment over a period of time, it was decided in fact to institute a curriculum project. But there still remained a series of important questions to be settled, such as : what aspects of the problem should be explored and how, what kinds of experimental activities should be followed, and what project strategy should be chosen?

Determining the project strategy

Much recent literature [8] insists that for a project aimed at improving curriculum practice, action research provides an appropriate model of strategy. Such recommendations have to be regarded critically, in the light of the particular aims of the intervention. In the present case where the intervention originates in the concern of a person bearing a supervisory responsibility at system level, it was necessary to consider: whose action, whose research was to be undertaken? Classroom teachers' action and research must not be confused with system-focused initiatives. Yet some of the literature invites such confusions: e.g. 'Action research is appropriate for grafting a new approach to an existing system'[9] Though it promises effective action at system level, such action research bears authoritarian undertones. Its concerns, motivation, and scope are primarily those of management not teachers'; implementation, not their own action nor their own research is the role accorded to the teachers. However this is but one version of action research which has become a capacious term. Other conceptions of action research emphasise the research content in the participating teachers' work, casting the teacher variously as investigator,[10] as scientist,[11] or as practitioner engaged in systematic self-study.[12] Confusion arises from the fact that the idea of 'the teacher as researcher' has been captured by the action research writers while their literature routinely contradicts this idea by recommending partnership between 'practitioners' (plainly teachers) and 'researchers' (plainly others).[13] Similar confusion arises on the important matter of communicating the knowledge produced in action research: for some the end use of such knowledge is to communicate it to practitioners,[14] for others its intended audience is the community of scholars,[15] not a term that is used always to encompass teachers.

All this is not to argue that useful recommendations for action cannot be drawn from what is in fact a strongly prescriptive literature. It does indicate

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however that to say that one has decided to engage in curriculum action research tells little about the kinds of choices one intends to make in relation to the nature of

- either the intended action or research,
- the relative roles and responsibilities of the teachers and others involved,
- the uses of the action research.

Rather than look then for a prescriptive mode of action research to guide decisions on strategy it seemed to make more sense to base decision-making on a careful analysis of the nature of the project's concerns, its scope and its intended and potential uses.

The task

The problem that the project was set up to work on was that 'very little in the way of formal assessment of pupil progress takes place in physical education'.[16] It was speculated that this situation was due to aspects of the teachers' working context: the shortage of time, the high numbers of pupils per teacher, the fleeting contact between teachers and pupils, the difficulty of obtaining or designing appropriate tests and procedures. But in addition to these contextual restraints, the problem might possibly have originated in the lack of any compelling pedagogical or ideological motives to assess pupil progress systematically (such as come into play for example in the teaching of examinable subjects).

The question of what system of assessment should be introduced was therefore highly problematic.[17] It would have made little sense then to adopt a strategy that would coerce or persuade teachers to implement someone else's prespecified solution. Such a solution would be likely to fail to meet the requirements of the teachers' work context and to be regarded by the teachers as inappropriate to their teaching purposes. It would be unlikely to survive beyond the span of the project.

The project strategy had to place the teachers' perspectives at the heart of decision-making. It had to accept that their concerns and perspectives were the really important ones, on matters such as the difficulties of practising systematic assessment, the practicalities of their work context, the possible benefits to their pupils and to their teaching, the balance of gain and cost to the teacher. The project facilitators' intention was to empower the teachers to address the limiting factors that stood in the way of their adopting a revised practice of assessment, whether such factors be contextual or embedded in their taken-for-granted everyday practice. By empowerment, I mean: 'helping people to take charge of their lives, people who have been restrained by social or political forces from assuming such control'. [18] And teaching is subject to many such forces: Irish teachers have been described as powerless functionaries. [19]

Much of that powerlessness is created through 'the socially given patterns of understanding (ideology) which have allowed us to take social conditions for granted'.[20] The project then would aim to invest the teachers with a capacity to re-appraise their own thinking about their practice and about the ideological and institutional context of their work.

How can teachers (or anyone else) be helped take control of their professional lives? Obviously, many kinds of personal resources - commitment, initiative, willingness to undertake responsibility, for example - will be needed. But the effort to challenge one's own and others' accepted practice, norms, assumptions must originate in a liberation of one's own understandings, one's grasp of what is possible. A critically important aspect of the project then is the degree to which the project 'reorients, focuses and energizes participants towards knowing reality in order to transform it'.[21]

It follows that the teachers' perceptions of their working reality have to be the starting point, and that teacher perspectives become the central concern of the project strategy. This is to reverse the secondary status given to teacher perspectives and the primary status given to materials and procedures in project strategies where the teachers' role is to implement the programmes decided by a project team. In implementation strategies teachers do not 'own' the programmes proposed as solutions, their perspectives are not genuinely developed; the fall-off in 'implementation' innovations after the withdrawal of the project team would indicate that the teachers had not been empowered to make real change in their working lives.

The notion of empowerment adopted in this curriculum project envisaged two outcomes: the teachers would appropriate the problem of how to devise a physical education assessment scheme and they would develop a capacity to overcome the restraints on their power to act effectively.

The Project as Social Context

A project that aims to empower teacher participants must try to provide social conditions under which the participants can enhance their capacity for self-determination. The director appointed two facilitators. The term was intended to indicate that the project's social style would be democratic, in which a transfer of control from the project team to the participants would reflect a shift away from the team's initiatives and concerns towards those of the practitioners. No other distribution of control over decisions and agendas would have permitted full acknowledgement that the problem to be investigated was practitioner's problem falling entirely within the teacher's domain of decision-making. Since teacher perceptions and understandings are acknowledged to be critically important in the decision-making, it is especially important that the facilitators exhibit respect for the way teachers see their work.

The closely linked nature of the facilitators' collaborative style and of their cognitive aims is described in Smith's account of clinical supervision: his account proposed to the facilitators an aim and a style that involve

> making activity meaningful for others. In other words, providing others who work with us with a sense of understanding where they have come from, what they are doing and where they are heading. This involves working with people rather than on them, so they can focus on what they do in the dailyness of their teaching, extracting meaning from it, and in the process communicating about the nature of those meanings. [22]

Practical Reasoning

But how to start? How to find ways of opening up the participants' - and facilitators' - understandings of everyday practice in relation to assessment? Reid's[23] work on the nature of curriculum problems suggests a method of approach. Curriculum problems - such as how to assess systematically pupil progress in physical education - have most of the characteristics of uncertain practical problems. These are resolved through the process known as practical reasoning.

Such practical reasoning in the realm of curriculum is best promoted, according to Schwab,[24] through carefully organised group processes involving a) deliberation, in which the problem is gradually appreciated and defined, b) a coalescence of aims, data, and judgements among the participants who are chosen to bring a variety of perspectives, backgrounds and expertise to the group, and c) utilisation of the knowledge and awareness created in the preceding stages to produce a curriculum design.

Appreciating and defining an uncertain problem is obviously a first step in the way towards action. But it is too an intrinsically educative experience, as when the teachers were asked to consider over a weekend three key questions:

Why assess pupil progress in physical education?
What to access?
How to assess?

As had been envisaged in the decision to employ deliberative processes, inquiry into these questions has subsequently made demands on teacher judgement and practical reasoning that go far beyond those of everyday practice. The discussion was embedded in their everyday experience of procedures and means of teaching and assessing physical education, but the key questions opened up discussion from matters of assessment technique towards the larger questions of ends and goals. The move towards considering one's work in terms of fundamental principles, that are in turn based on values and ends, holds the potential to be profoundly empowering. What most teachers had previously accepted as taken-for-granted normal practice - in this case the absence of systematic assessment - now became problematic. Latent cause-effect relationships, alternatives, potential benefits, justifications in terms of first principles became evident, an agenda of further problems emerged. In the course of the first three months of the project, the appreciation of the problem of devising an assessment scheme has developed considerably.[25]

Among the problems that have emerged in discussion and experiment and for which a resolution must return to questions of first principles and guiding values are these:

- For whom is the assessment - for the teacher, the pupils or school management? The three purposes were not, it was found, necessarily convergent, yet all were considered necessary.
- The failure problem. Many PE teachers were reluctant to employ assessment that would result in marking some pupils as failures.
- How to avoid losing focus on the whole individual due to the fragmentation of knowledge, concepts, skills and attitudes, and due to the separate assessment of various activities?
- Given the variety of activities in most physical education programmes, what, how much and when to assess?

Two other types of problems have emerged. The first of these, technical problems of validity and reliability and of assessing attitudes and certain skills, have been referred by the teachers to the facilitators. The second type includes the 'practical' problems of incorporating desirable assessment procedures into their limited teaching time, and the 'cost' problem, namely the high personal cost of much assessment activity in effort and time.

Experimentation

The literature on practical reasoning has much less to say on the implementing and monitoring of experimental solutions to the problems identified in deliberation. The project adopted the general style of procedure [26] used in the Junior English Pilot Project, as follows:

i) Agreement is reached on which problem task to address in the teachers' individual experimentation in their own teaching over the next month.
ii) The teachers devise their own testing and recording procedure to meet the problem task.
iii) The teachers try out their experimental procedures and record their experiences systematically.
iv) The teachers report their experiences to the group, and one of the facilitators studies the written reports. Together the participants and facilitators identify what appear to be the most common findings, the chief issues and difficulties.
v) The facilitators then place the latter on the agenda in some systematic way for further discussion and decisions.

The pattern is one that feeds the results of the participants' experimentation back into the group's deliberations. In the activity of probing experiences, uncovering meanings and seeking explanations, members can discover new understandings, aims and possibilities. New perspectives are formed to provide starting points for the next cycle of deliberations, experiment and evaluation. Smith describes the process like this:

> It is this dialectical working out of the relationship between reflection, experimentation and action that enables us to engage in what Mezirow describes as 'perspective transformation' - changing as it were the framework with which we think feel, behave and view our experiences. 27

Project activities are organised to facilitate the deliberation, - experiment - evaluation cycle. Three intensive weekend conferences have been held, running from Friday 6.0 p.m. to Saturday 4.0 p.m. They are the main means of enabling the participants collectively to develop theories from practice,e to subject proposed ideas to criticism, and to plan ways of testing alternatives. Agendas are flexible, to move with emerging problems and insights, and are determined by the group and facilitators jointly. A four-week interval between the weekends allows the participants to design, try out, record and evaluate their experiences.

Signs of Empowerment

Over the three cycles that have so far been run, are there in fact any signs that the teachers are becoming empowered to assert professional control over a difficult area in their working lives? From conference observations and records, from written data supplied by the participants, and from the evaluator's feedback one can infer that in fact the intended empowerment is to at least some degree being realised.

a) The appreciation of the problems of assessment has resulted in a deeper understanding of the justifications for assessment, of the problematics, and of what is required of an acceptable assessment scheme.

b) Already the teachers have to some extent transcened certain limitations commonly ascribed to their normal attitudes towards new ideas proposed to them.[28] They have demonstrated willingness and ability to overcome difficulties in translating new guiding principles into specific operational procedures. They have been able to modify their normal teaching behaviour to accommodate new assessment procedures (though it should be added that the cost of these, in time and effort, is now the subject of experimentation).

c) Teachers have expressed in discussions, in their project logbooks and in their written evaluations of the first eight weeks of the project their sense of deeper understanding and purposefulness in their work.

d) Increasingly, the teachers are becoming independent of project leadership; they rely less on the director and facilitators for advice, they are developing their own research skills, they take initiatives in suggesting agendas and experimental programmes.

Conclusion

The experience of this project has exposed some ambiguities in the notion of empowerment: for example, does it denote an experience (on the part of the person who has been empowered), or an aim (something that one person hopes that another will accomplish for himself), or an act (something that one person does to another)? In this project strategy, the notion has evolved to connote

a) a functional condition in the interaction between the project team and the teacher participants, in which the control of decision-making is transferred to the teachers' collective authority;

b) a means of teachers' professional development, as in the empowering potential of i) the deliberative processes, ii) resources including specialist knowledge from one of the facilitators (Pat Duffy, a subject expert in physical education), iii) training and practice in self-monitoring skills, iv) the deliberation - experimentation - evaluation cycle;

c) an end, manifested in the teachers' developing capacity to become autonomous agents in the practical business of curriculum: practical reasoning, developing new practice, reflecting and evaluating, and incorporating new practice in their working behaviour.

Note: The project discussed in this paper is Research Project Evaluation in Physical Education. It is funded by the Department of Education. The project team consists of Michael Darmody (director), Pat Duffy and Diarmuid Leonard (facilitators), and Ann O'Brien (research assistant). Twenty-five teachers are participating.

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MUSIC STANDARDS AND DISPOSITIONS OF STUDENTS ENTERING A COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Brendan Spelman and Maureen Killeavy

Frommelt (1981), in the Council of Europe's Report Music Education for All, places on record the Council's clear concern that 'every individual should be enabled to develop a critical appreciation of music, and, where possible, the ability of musical self expression, whether in singing or playing an instrument or in its interpretation in related cultural activity such as dancing'. Yet the Report also records the Council's regret at the low priority placed on music in many member countries, and expresses its concern at inadequacies in the training of teachers of music, particularly at primary level. it notes, for example, that music teaching is viewed by many primary teachers in the member states as a 'tiresome duty', that the stipulated teaching time is often used for other subjects, and that 'the aims laid down in the curricula are often not taken seriously or attained.'

Similar findings have been reported in Ireland. The 1976 Survey conducted by the Irish National Teachers' Organisation on the implementation of the new curriculum for primary schools found that only 51 per cent of teachers felt that they were teaching music satisfactorily, and 'many teachers felt inadequate in their roles as teachers of music'. These results echoed the findings of the parallel curriculum evaluation conducted by the Conference of Convent Primary Schools in Ireland (1975), where '76 per cent of respondents agreed that music needs a specialist', a finding which was interpreted as indicating that 'many primary teachers no longer feel competent to teach music'.

The survey conducted by the Department of Education and reported by Fontes & Kellaghan (1977) also discovered a low level of implementation of new curricular approaches in two specific areas, music and physical education, and the White Paper on Educational Development (1980) succinctly summarized these various findings in its comment: ' in two curriculum areas - music and physical education - the degree of implementation of the new approach was found to be disappointingly uneven'.

Two recently published studies provide specific insights into the strengths and weaknesses of music teaching in the primary school. An analysis completed by the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education on the teaching of music in a national sample of primary schools, Tuairisc ar Theagasc an Cheoil sna Bunscoileanna (1983), reports that only in the area of song-singing were the objectives of the new curriculum being achieved. The teaching of aspects of musical literacy was generally considered to be at 'a very low level'. Meany (1986) in her study of music teaching in ten West of Ireland primary schools, found that aural skills were well-developed among the pupils sampled, but she also found that skills relating to musical literacy were poorly developed and 'required an intensive programme of remediation'. Only 50 per cent of the 80 teachers sampled in her study described themselves as being literate in music, though 30 teachers 'professed to enjoy music'.

In a summary comment Meany (1986) stated that the practical reality in most schools where music was taught was that 'almost all respondents teach songs and vocal technique ... to the neglect of ear-training, intervals, rhythm, reading and creative work'.

In his perceptive report on The Place of the Arts in Irish Education, Benson (1979) commented that 'well-trained teachers are a sine qua non of a good educational system. Yet he also observed that most student teachers arrive in college with a 'negligible or even negative experience of the arts, and so are not predisposed to value them'. He noted that this situation is exacerbated in Western and North-Western areas of the country by a lack of provision of 'opportunities for musical training and study'.

The most recent study of relevance to the investigation to be described in this paper is the report on the provision of music education in Irish Schools entitled Deaf Ears? (Herron, 1985). Published by the Arts Council on the occasion of European Music Year, the report reached the following conclusions concerning the state of music education in Ireland: 'in terms of aspirations to equality of opportunity in the field of music education, a very large percentage of Irish school students are in a position of significant inequality.' The report cited the sex of students, the fee-paying capacity of parents, the type of second-level school attended and regional disparities in the provision of music education as the factors contributing most significantly to this inequality. However, the report also laid particular emphasis on the overriding need to 'get it right' at primary school level, and commented on the inadequate education of most primary school teachers in music.

The present study was conducted at approximately the same time as Deaf Ears?. It explores aspects of the achievements, interests and background in music of an entire year-cohort of 173 students which entered Carysfort College of Education in October, 1983. This paper adopts a developmental perspective in its delineation of students' formative musical experiences in school, in the home and in the culture at large. The paper also takes account of different musical idioms in its analysis of musical formation, and it investigates the interaction of formal and informal influences in the generation of particular dispositions towards music among the students sampled.

Methodologically, the findings reported in this paper are the results of a replication of appropriate aspects of an intensive pilot-study which was conducted with the previous year's (1982) intake of 282 students. Many of the results are, therefore, subject to confirmation, and parallel findings are reported where relevant.* As the study was completed at approximately the same time as Deaf Ears?, many of its findings either extend, qualify or provide a response to the observations made in that report.

In the section of Deaf Ears? dealing with teacher education, Herron makes the observation that 'while more candidates now enter the Colleges of Education without any post-primary music experience than was the case before the 1960's, it is also true that some candidates enter now who have better qualifications and achievements than was the case in the past.' The introductory part of this paper provides a detailed profile of the standards achieved in music education by students prior to entering College.

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* The statistical techniques employed in the analysis consist of simple distribution statistics (percentages, chi-square), product-moment correlation, and one-way analyses of variance.

The results of this aspect of the enquiry indicate that more than half of the students entering Carysfort College had taken some examination in music before entering teacher training. Eighty-two students, or 47 per cent of the sample, had taken music for the Intermediate Certificate, and 29 students, or 17 per cent had taken music for the Leaving Certificate. The relevant percentages nationally for the same year (1983), were 16.2 per cent taking music at Intermediate Certificate and 2.4 per cent taking music at Leaving Certificate (Herron, 1985).

TABLE 1 Modes of music examination at Intermediate and Leaving Certificate levels

Mode	Intermediate Certificate	Leaving Certificate
Mode A - General	57% (n=47)	3% (n=1)
Mode B - General and Practical	37% (n=30)	59% (n=17)
Mode C - General and Project	6% (n=5)	38% (n=11)
	(Total n=82)	(Total n=29)

Table 1 further indicates that whereas a majority of students took Mode A Syllabus for the Intermediate Certificate, a majority of students took the Mode B Syllabus for the Leaving Certificate. Piano was the instrument most frequently chosen for both certificate examinations, less than 10 per cent of students opting for other instruments.

Eighty-one students, or 47 per cent of the sample, also presented for music examinations organised by various central or regional examining boards. A majority of these students (80 per cent), took Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) grade examinations. The remainder presented for examinations organised by the Associated Board, the Leinster School of Music or the London College of Music. The piano was again the dominant instrument, an insignificant number of students presenting with other instruments. The grade levels attained by these students are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Grade levels attained by students in music examinations (n=81)

Grade Level in Music Examination	Percentage Completion
I & II	28% (n=20)
III & IV	22% (n=18)
V & VI	27% (n=22)
VII & VIII	26% (n=21)
	Total n = 81

The second section of this paper examines students' attitudes towards music as experienced in four separate environments: home, primary school, secondary school and adolescent peer-group. It also examines students' estimations of their ability to sing in tune. Data on the formative musical experiences of students as they occurred in these four different locations are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3 Students' formative experiences of music (n=173)

Environment	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
Home	1% (n=1)	2% (n=4)	24% (n=42)	38% (n=65)	35% (n=61)
Primary School	3% (n=6)	7% (n=12)	23% (n=40)	43% (n=74)	24% (n=41)
Secondary School	8% (n=13)	8% (n=14)	20% (n=25)	32% (n=56)	32% (n=55)
Peer Group	4% (n=6)	4% (n=7)	23% (n=39)	43% (n=71)	26% (n=43)

These results would suggest that the musical environment of the home affected students most positively, whereas music as experienced at secondary school had a less positive impact. Students were equally approving of music whether as experienced as primary school or within their adolescent peer-groups. When taken in aggregate, the results of this analysis also indicated that in excess of two-thirds of the students sampled displayed favourable impressions of their experience of music, irrespective of the locations in which they had experienced them.

Students' estimations of their ability to sing in tune are given in Table 4. The results are an almost exact replication of the findings of the pilot study (1982).

TABLE 4 Students' estimations of their ability to sing in tune

Year	Poor	Moderate	Good
1983 (n=173)	13% (n=22)	52% (n=90)	35% (n=61)
1982 (n=281)	14% (n=40)	52% (n=147)	33% (n=94)

Approximately half the students in both year-cohorts considered that they could sing moderately in tune, one-third considered they could so so well, and the remainder rated their ability in this regard as poor. The highest single correlate of students' estimations of their ability to sing in tune was a test of their accuracy in writing a specified familiar song in music notation ($r = .507; p =.000$). These findings are of particular interest not only because of their consistency and behavioural reliability, but also because students' self image in this connection may determine their subsequent dispositions towards music.

In its plea for the formulation of a national policy on music education, the Herron Report stressed that such a plan would need to incorporate 'a range of musical forms and idioms including contemporary, jazz, popular, traditional and non-western art music'. Frommelt (1981) echoed this sentiment when he observed that 'in our pluralistic society, music culture no longer offers a hierarchical scale of values. Music can be an enrichment and a source of pleasure on many intellectual levels and in the most varied ways. For this reason, a young person must be capable of distinguishing and recognising the different types of music in our times, of choosing the type which appeals to him and the way he will participate in it, unmanipulated and in complete freedom.'

The third section of this paper reports on students' familiarity with different types of music on entering College. For the purposes of the enquiry, students were required to complete a series of 10-item matching questions* relating to four different musical idioms:

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* Individual items and questions have been excluded from this paper in the interests of brevity. However, results specifically relating to the different musical forms and the compositions or songs which represent them are available from the authors.

'Light', 'Pop', 'Standard Popular' and 'Serious'music. They were also required to indicate their familiarity with the instruments of different sections of the orchestra. Questions in the 'serious' music area were drawn from the classical, romantic, impressionist and modern periods; songs in the 'standard popular' area ranged from those performed by Simon & Garfunkel and Elvis Presley to those sung by Ella Fitzgerald and Bing Crosby; works in the 'light music' area were chosen for their tuneful quality and wide-ranging appeal and included composers such as Gilbert & Sullivan, Gershwin and Percy French, and items in the 'pop music' area were selected from current hits on the UK and Irish charts.

TABLE 5 Students' familiarity with four areas of music, and their knowledge of the instruments of the orchestra

	Pilot Study (1982)	Main Study
	Percentage Correct Response	
'Light' Music	61.8%	62.5%
'Pop' Music	79.9%	68.2%
'Standard Popular' Music	44.2%	52.5%
'Serious' Music	18.0%	21.6%
Instruments of the Orchestra	27.9%	27.4%

Table 5 summarizes the findings of this section of the enquiry. The findings of the 1982 pilot study are included for comparison. The overall results, when expressed in terms of percentage correct response within each of the music forms examined, indicate that students were most familiar with 'pop' music, and thereafter, in order of decreasing familiarity, with 'light' music, 'standard popular' music and 'serious music'. It is noticeable that the rank order of student proficiency in respect of the four forms of music is consistent for both independent year-groups, and that students' familiarity with the instruments associated with the different sections of the orchestra is virtually identical for both samples.

The fourth section of this paper examines the extent to which characteristics such as students' familiarity with different musical idioms, their knowledge of the instruments of the orchestra and their participation in private music education were differentiated by their success in State music examinations at Intermediate and Leaving Certificate levels.

TABLE 6 Students' knowledge and experience of music differentiated by whether they had taken music for the Intermediate Certificate Examination (n=173)

	Taken (n=82) Mean	Not Taken (n=91) Mean	f Ratio	df	p
'Light' Music	6.91	5.65	11.51	1/191	.0009
'Pop' Music	6.37	7.23	3.58	1/171	.0602
'Standard Popular' Music	5.11	5.34	0.59	1/171	.4448
'Serious' Music	3.66	0.81	65.31	1/171	.0000
Instruments of the Orchestra	15.82	11.35	61.15	1/171	.0000
Grade Level Attained*	3.58	0.98	44.58	1/171	.0000

The results for the Intermediate Certificate, as given in Table 6, indicate that students who had taken music as a subject in this examination had obtained significantly higher grades in private music examinations, and were significantly more familiar with the instruments of the orchestra than students who had not. Moreover, such students displayed significantly greater familiarity with 'serious music, and to a lesser extent, with 'light music' than did their peers.

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* Candidates from these examinations would normally have received individual tuition from specialist music teachers on a fee-paying basis.

TABLE 7 Students' knowledge and experience of music differentiated by whether they had taken Music for the Leaving Certificate Examination (n=173)

	Taken (n=29) Mean	Not Taken (n=144) Mean	f Ratio	df	p
'Light' Music	7.48	6.00	8.70	1/171	.0036
'Pop' Music	6.20	6.94	1.44	1/171	.2320
'Standard Popular' Music	5.17	5.24	0.03	1/171	.8613
'Serious' Music	6.76	1.24	238.75	1/171	.0000
Instruments of the Orchestra	17.62	12.63	38.56	1/171	.0000
Grade Level Attained	5.04	1.65	39.58	1/171	.0000

Table 7, which presents a similar analysis for students taking music in the Leaving Certificate examination, confirms this trend. It is particularly noticeable that the strongest differentiating factor between those who took music examinations and those who did not in each of these analyses relates to their knowledge of the instruments of the orchestra and their familiarity with 'serious' music, results which would appear to suggest a distinct relationship between the idiom of 'serious' music and music as represented in public examinations.

The fifth section of this paper examines the discriminating effects of students' attitudes towards music as they experienced it in the home upon their knowledge of, and proficiency in, the subject on entering College. The discriminating effects of their impressions of their ability to sing in tune are also examined this section.

TABLE 8 Students' knowledge and experience of music differentiated by their attitudes to music as experienced in the home environment

	Negative Attitudes (n=6)	Neutral Attitudes (n=42)	Positive Attitudes (n=126)	f Ratio	df	p
'Light' Music	5.20	5.43	6.56	3.74	2	.0257
'Pop' Music	9.40	5.79	7.06	4.90	2	.0086
'Standard Popular' Music	4.60	4.64	5.45	2.97	2	.0541
'Serious' Music	0.60	0.93	2.63	7.65	2	.0007
Instruments of the Orchestra	11.80	11.36	14.24	7.84	2	.0006
Grade Level Attained	1.00	0.69	2.75	9.45	2	.0001

The analysis presented in Table 8 indicates that students who were most favourably impressed by music as experienced in their homes were also significantly superior to students who did not hold such attitudes on each of the criterion measures represented in the analysis. Such differences were particularly noticeable in regard to their knowledge of the instruments of the orchestra and their familiarity with 'serious' music, and also in regard to the grade levels which they attained in non-state examinations. Supplementary analyses indicated that no other formative environment exercised such a powerfully discriminating effect. The discriminating influences of primary school and adolescent peer group environments appeared to be negligible, though favourable attitudes towards the musical environment of secondary schools significantly discriminated between degrees of students' familiarity with 'serious' music and also the extent of their knowledge of the instruments of the orchestra.

However, the characteristic which most pervasively distinguished between students' performance on virtually all of the indices of musical proficiency included in the analysis was students' own estimation of their ability to sing in tune.

TABLE 9 Students' knowledge and experience of music differentiated by their self-estimations of their ability to sing in tune

	Poor (n=22)	Moderate (n=90)	Good (n=610	f Ratio	df	p
'Light' Music	6.09	5.73	7.07	5.37	2	.0055
'Pop' Music	6.14	6.62	7.36	1.74	2	.1779
'Standard Popular' Music	4.82	4.89	5.89	5.43	2	.0052
'Serious' Music	0.73	1.32	3.92	26.10	2	.0000
Instruments of the Orchestra	11.55	12.64	15.38	10.69	2	.0000
Grade Level Attained	0.95	1.53	3.64	14.03	2	.0000

Table 9 indicates that students with the most favourable estimations of their ability to sing in tune gained the highest total scores on all the indices of familiarity with different musical idioms, with the exception of that relating to 'pop' music. Such students also attained significantly higher grades in music examinations prior to entering College. Again, however, the most sizeable difference occurred in regard to students' familiarity with 'serious' music.

In the report Deaf Ears? (1985), Herron made the following statement:

> From the data presented in this report, boys receive less music education than girls... and if their parents are not in a position to pay for music classes outside school, they are even less likely to receive instruction; and even if their parents could afford to provide extra-mural education, they are highly unlikely to have that opportunity if they live in the Midlands, West or Northwest of Ireland where there are no music colleges as such. So, in terms of aspirations to equality of opportunity in the field of music education, a very large percentage of Irish school students are in a position of significant inequality.

Within the limitations imposed by the sample, the concluding section of this paper examines some of these observations.

While only 14 per cent of the sample consisted of male students, the analysis here suggested that whereas male students significantly out-scored female students on the 'pop' music section, there was a tendency for female students to score more highly on the 'serious' music section. The differences otherwise were minimal.

Parents' capacity to pay for their children's musical education was examined in two ways: firstly, in terms of the socio-economic status of fathers' occupations, and secondly, in terms of the amount of the grant to which students were entitled on entering College. For students from farming backgrounds an appropriate equivalence was determined between farm acreage and the different occupational categories.

TABLE 10 Percentages of students with fathers in different occupational categories taking music examinations

Occupations/Farming Categories	Number of Students Per Category	% Taking Grade Examinations in Music
Unskilled/Farmers 5-14 acres	(n=8)	0.0%
Semi-skilled/Farmers 15-29 acres	(n=15)	46.7% (n=7)
Skilled Manual/Farmers 30-49 acres	(n=27)	48.1% (n=13)
Skilled non Manual/Farmers 50-99 acres	(n=39)	56.4% (n=22)
Intermediate/Farmers 100-199 acres	(n=45)	66.7% (n=30)
Professional/Farmers 200+ acres	(n=35)	65.7% (n=23)

The results presented in Table 10 support Herron's argument, the greatest access to fee-paying grade examinations being availed of by children of fathers whose occupations were in the upper socio-economic categories. This Table also illustrates a clear downward progression in access, children with fathers in progressively lower occupations having progressively less access to private music education.

TABLE 11 Students' attainment in grade examinations at varying levels differentiated by their grant-aided status on entering college

	No Grade Exam	Grades I & II	Grades III & IV	Grades V & VI	Grades VII & VIII
Students Paying Full Fees (n=91)	41.5% (n=39)	13.8% (n=13)	13.8% (n=12)	15.9% (n=15)	16.0% (n=15)
Students Receiving Grants (n=74)	66.2% (n=49)	9.4% (n=7)	8.11% (n=6)	9.46% (n=7)	6.76% (n=5)

These results are again confirmed in Table 11 in which the grade levels attained by students in music examinations are differentiated by the grant entitlement of students on entering College. If the amount of the grant is accepted as an approximate index of the material prosperity of the home, the results again suggest a considerable discrepancy between fee-paying and grant-aided students, both in terms of their access to, and their continuing retention within, private music education.

While the data in the present study do not claim to be representative of population distributions in the country at large, the findings in regard to regional discrepancies in musical opportunity also go some way towards supporting Herron's conclusion.

TABLE 12 Comparisons of the music examinations taken by students from Connaught with those taken by students from Dublin and the rest of the country

Type of Examination	Connaught	Dublin	Rest of Country
	(Total n=38)	(Total n=31)	Total n=104)
Grade Exams	39.5% (n=15)	58.1% (n=18)	45.2% (n=47)
Intermediate Certificate	47.37% (n=18)	54.8% (n=17)	43.37% (n=45)
Leaving Certificate	15.8% (n=6)	12.9% (n=4)	17.3% (n=18)

For example, the data presented in Table 12 would suggest that students from Connaught are the least privileged in terms of their access to grade examinations or private music education, students from the Dublin area being the most favoured in this regard. However, discrepancies in access to the kinds of music education provided by secondary schools (Intermediate and Leaving Certificate music) are much less pronounced, suggesting that certain secondary schools play a valuable role in providing their pupils a type of music education in areas where such provision is not otherwise available.

County boundaries did not prove to be the most efficient discriminators of musical opportunity in the present sample. However, population density, as defined by the designations 'metropolitan', 'urban' and 'rural' proved to be very significant determinants of access to musical education.

TABLE 13 Students taking music examinations, defined by highest grades attempted, differentiated by the population-designation of their areas of origin

	Metropolitan (n=34)	Urban (n=55)	Rural (n=80)
Grades I & II	8.8% (n=3)	13.0% (n=7)	12.6% (n=10)
Grades III & IV	20.5% (n=7)	9.3% (n=5)	7.6% (n=6)
Grades V & VI	20.5% (n=7)	16.7% (n=9)	7.5% (n=6)
Grades VII & VIII	14.7% (n=5)	11.1% (n=6)	12.5% (n=10)
Total Students taking Grade Examinations	64.7% (n=22)	49.1% (n=27)	40.0% (n=32)

Chi square = 30.01 (p=.0180)

Table 13 indicates that access to private music education becomes progressively more difficult, depending on whether one resides in cities, towns or in rural areas of the country. The Table also indicates that, in terms of the total number of students obtaining any grade in such examinations, metropolitan or city students were significantly more advantaged than urban students, and rural students were the least advantaged in terms of access to the kinds of music education which such grades imply.

It is a matter or concern that such disparities in music provision have features in virtually every report on music education since the foundation of the State. In the earliest major survey of this kind conducted by Dr. Joseph Groocock on behalf of Foras Eireann (1961), the following comment occurs: 'Musical talent is not confined to the urban population. Much talent is obviously going to waste in country places through lack of expert tuition'. *Plus ca change ...?*

DISCUSSION

The Arts in Education (1985), published by the Curriculum and Examinations Board, postulates three aims as being fundamental to the provision of any good musical education: the development of a love of music in the student; the acquisition of musical skills; the development of understanding and knowledge of music.

The present enquiry found that of the various formative musical influences to which students were exposed, the home environment was the strongest, tending to outweigh the effects of primary school, secondary school and adolescent peer group on students' musical dispositions. Supplementary analyses further indicates that within the home environment, the influence of the mother superseded that of the father, particularly those mothers who had proceeded to second or third level education and those who themselves played a musical instrument. While Benson (1979) has observed that most students entering colleges of education have negligible experience of the arts and therefore tend not to value them, the results of this aspect of the enquiry indicate that in excess of two thirds of the students sampled reported favourable impressions of their experience of music.

In terms of the acquisition of musical skills, the findings of the present enquiry clearly indicate that in terms of their examination profiles, students entering Carysfort College of Education in1983 represented three times the national average of those taking music at Intermediate Certificate level, and seven times the national average at Leaving Certificate level. Moreover, 50 per cent of students had taken some music examination prior to entering college, 25 per cent of applicants attaining Grade V or higher in instrumental music.

The development of students' understanding and knowledge of music was sampled in a variety of ways in the present study, whether in terms of their familiarity with different musical forms, or their achievements within the various music examination systems.

Both Deaf Ears? and The Arts in Education make a case for the representation of a wide range of forms and idioms in the music curriculum. Herron specifies contemporary, jazz, popular, traditional and non-western art music as cases in point. The CEB document makes a plea for the inclusion of 'pop' music because of its direct appeal to most students, and because it can be a highly skilled and valid mode of musical expression worthy of both study and involvement'.

Of the four musical forms or idioms included in the present study, students showed the greatest familiarity with 'pop' music, and thereafter, in decreasing order of familiarity, with 'light' music, 'standard popular' music and 'serious' music. However, an important and seemingly paradoxical aspect of these results was the finding that in those formative environments in which music was favoured, differences in musical proficiency were always manifest in regard to greater student familiarity with 'serious' music. Such students also tended to attain higher grade levels and to remain for longer periods within the formal system of music education than their peers.

Of comparable significance were the supplementary findings that 'pop' music appeared to represent a type of experience which was not related to any of the other indices of musical proficiency represented in the study, and was negatively related to students' familiarity with 'serious' music. These findings might suggest that the incorporation of 'pop' music within the curriculum may require a broader framework than the traditional music syllabus currently supplies.

A point of continuing concern to the Groocock (1961), Benson (1979) and Herron (1985) reports is the extent of the inequality of access to music education which characterizes a very large percentage of Irish school students. The results of the present enquiry confirm this concern. Students' access to music education was found to be significantly differentiated by their fathers' occupations, their grant-aided status on entering College, and their areas of origin. However, while the present study confirmed that students west of the Shannon were in a position of significant inequality particularly in regard to their access to, and retention within private music education, the more telling differences occurred in relation to whether such students lived in metropolitan, urban or rural areas of the country.

All of the findings described above must be interpreted with particular reference to the fact that they are derived from one predominantly female (86 per cent) year-cohort in one College of Education. It is important to stress that some of the findings may not generalize beyond female student teachers. Moreover, the precise nature of the music education received by these students at primary and secondary school is not touched upon in this paper, as it forms the substance of a further report. Nevertheless, these results gain in reliability, and perhaps also in generalizability, from the striking consistency of findings between the 1982 and 1983 year-cohorts.

It is hoped that this phase of the enquiry will add constructively to the emerging and long overdue debate on the music education of Irish school children.

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A COMPARISON OF THE COGNITIVE DEMANDS MADE BY THE INTEGRATED SCIENCE CURRICULUM INNOVATION PROJECT WITH THOSE MADE BY IT'S WRITTEN EXAMINATION FOR THE INTERMEDIATE CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION

Mícheál Ó Maoldomhnaigh and Seán T Ó Bealáin

INTRODUCTION

Integrated Science Curriculum Innovation Project (I.S.C.I.P) was first published in 1977 with a revised edition appearing in 1984. The project consists of a laboratory and field based discovery approach to integrated Science in the junior-cycle of the second-level school and has as one of it's aims that emphasis should be placed "on enquiry and experimentation, on understanding and constructive thinking" (Rosney, 1978). This course is followed in only about 30 schools at present as it is still classified by the Department of Education as a pilot project. Although it includes the same content as does the Science Syllabus A it is examined separately in recognition of its integrated nature and it's discovery approach. It's written examination consists of short answer and closed item questions and in addition to the formal written examining, 25 per cent of the total marks attainable by a candidate are offered via teacher assessment.

To what extent does I.S.C.I.P. meet it's aim of putting emphasis on understanding and constructive thinking? Comparing the written examination of Syllabi A, E and I.S.C.I.P. in terms of the number of marks available for each of the six levels of the Cognitive Domain of *The Taxonomy* (Bloom 1956) O Maoldomhnaigh and Ni Fhlanagain (1987) concluded that the main emphasis was on the lowest level, i.e. Knowledge, in the case of all three examinations. This however may not reflect the experience of the I.S.C.I.P. participant. While it is usually accepted that most teacher's course objectives will be those rewarded in the Public Examination (Heywood, 1977a) the I.S.C.I.P. student participates in a course largely consisting of prewritten workcards which give considerably less latitude to the teacher than do traditional Science syllabi. There is therefore a much greater possibility of mismatch between such a course and it's examination.

On what parameter might such a possible mismatch be investigated? The use of the terms 'understanding' and 'constructive thinking' in the aim quoted above suggests Bloom's (1956) cognitive domain. Designed in response to the need for a method of communication,the cognitive hierarchy has since it's appearance three decades ago, had a great influence on curriculum and examination designers (Heywood, 1977b). Partially as a result of the work of Madaus and MacNamara (1970) the cognitive hierarchy became widely appreciated in Ireland at the time that I.S.C.I.P. was being first designed. This suggests it's use as an appropriate instrument. Use of the cognitive hierarchy as an instrument of direct analysis is not however without it's opponents. Turner (1984) suggests the Taxonomy to be less than "scientifically rigorous". This is not surprising as it is described by Bloom (1956) as an "educational-logical-psychological classification scheme". This suggests consideration of a more quantitatively derived and verified scale. One such scale might be the Curriculum Analysis Taxonomy of Shayer and Adey (1981) for which, however Irish norms have yet to to be produced. Heywood (1977b) is unhappy with what he considers to be the artificial separation of cognitive from affective attributes. Hoste (1982), among others, believes that use of the cognitive domain of the taxonomy as a direct instrument can never be wholly objective. Bloom (1956) does clearly state that the accuracy of analysis of test exercises depends on awareness of the amount of knowledge of the pupil and the learning situations which have preceded the test. This aspect was dealt with by Madaus and MacNamara (1970) by close attention to pupil notes and textbooks and by consultation with teachers of the subjects under analysis. In the case of I.S.C.I.P. the use of the cognitive hierarchy of the taxonomy as an instrument is rendered much less problematic as the course learning situations are prespecified in the text.

This study, therefore, investigates the cognitive levels of The Taxonomy demanded by I.S.C.I.P. course material and by it's written examination for the Intermediate Certificate of Education to determine the extent to which the demands of the written examination are reflective of the learning experiences encountered. The claim of the course to be suitable for different ability levels (Buckley et al 1984) is investigated in terms of the profile of cognitive domain level demanded by the series of questions posed after each experiment to guide students towards understanding of experiment results. The cognitive demand level structure of the 10 units comprising the I.S.C.I.P. course material is also investigated to see if an increase in complexity is apparent over the total course.

METHOD

Sources of data consist of the written Intermediate Certificate Examination papers set on I.S.C.I.P. from 1981 to 1985 inclusive and of the I.S.C.I.P. student manuals (Ibid.). The I.S.C.I.P. examination consists of short answer and closed item tests arranged in four sections with some element of choice. The I.S.C.I.P.

manuals consist of a total of 10 units and an Ecology Handbook. To some extent Chemistry, Physics and Biology are integrated. While some information is presented, pupils are generally encouraged by a series of questions to derive progress- ively more understanding from the results of practical science experiences.

Each of the five examination papers under consideration had selected from it 50 questions for analysis. A sample of questions was randomly selected from each section of the paper in proportion to the number of questions the section contained. Each of the 10 published I.S.C.I.P. units had randomly selected from it numbered questions in proportion to the total it contained to give a final sample of 250 I.S.C.I.P. course questions. Questions appearing under the headings "for information" and "homework or independent study" were included. Each of the questions from the examination papers was classified in accordance with the cognitive level at which it was judged that the candidate who had completed the I.S.C.I.P. course would have operated. Each of the questions selected from the I.S.C.I.P. units was classified in accordance with the cognitive level at which it was judged that the pupil who had reached that stage in the I.S.C.I.P. course would have operated. Questions were classified by both authors who discussed each to the sub-level and agreed and recorded each at the cognitive level.

The classification was informed by examples given by Bloom (1956) and Gronlund (1978). Reliability between markers was investigated by having each independently classify the same sample of 63 I.S.C.I.P. course questions which ranged from Knowledge to Synthesis. On a test-retest basis 100 course questions with the same range of levels were reclassified some three weeks after original classification. Only the written aspect of the I.S.C.I.P. assessment is considered.

To assess profile of cognitive demand level in the series of questions which following the experiments, 10 experiments were chosen at random. The cognitive level demanded by the first and last third of the question series following each experiment was judged and recorded and the results compared. The proportion of Knowledge to other levels in each of the 10 units comprising the course as represented in the 250 random samples of questions was also examined. A comparison between the first and last three units was made to determine if they differed significantly in this respect.

RESULTS

1. Reliability.

Of a random sample of 63 I.S.C.I.P. course questions which were judged independently by each of the authors, agreement as to taxonomic level was found in 61 (96.8%). When classification of 100 I.S.C.I.P. course questions was repeated some three weeks after they had first been classified, agreement was found in the case of 97.

2. Course demand v. Examination paper demand

The composition of the samples of I.S.C.I.P. coursework and written examination questions is shown in Table 1. Only the three lower levels of the cognitive domain were judged to have occurred in the sample of papers. All six levels were judged to have occurred in the sample of the course questions.

TABLE 1 Judged cognitive level composition of random samples from I.S.C.I.P. examinations and I.S.C.I.P course material

Level	K	C	Ap.	An.	S.	E.	Sample Total
Examinations	205	32	13	0	0	0	250
Course	49	76	67	41	16	1	250

While both samples show some bias towards the less complex levels, the examination questions sample is extreme in this, having been judged to seek knowledge more often than the course sought at all other levels.

Combining the levels of Application, Analysis, Synthesis and Evaluation to allow application of the χ^2 test, the examination and course demand level profiles were found to differ significantly ($\chi^2 = 204.64$ $p<.001$).

3. Cognitive demand level profile

The cognitive demand level of the first and last thirds of questions lists following a random sample of ten experiments from the I.S.C.I.P. course are shown in Table 2. More instances of the more complex demands were found to have been made in the later questions in all the lists sampled except one.

TABLE 2 Judged cognitive demand level composition of early and later questions following a sample of I.S.C.I.P. course experiments

Level	K	C	Ap.	An.	S.	E.	Sample Total
First 1/3rd	0	19	3	1	0	0	23
Last 1/3rd	0	9	6	6	2	0	23

Application of the Kolmogorov - Smirnov two sample test (Cohen and Holliday, 1982) showed a significant difference in the cognitive demand level composition of the two samples (K=1.49. p < .025).

The numbers of questions judged to be Knowledge or Intellectual Abilities and Skills (i.e. all other cognitive domain levels (Bloom 1956)) in the random samples made from the 10 units of I.S.C.I.P. are set out in Table 3, from which it will be seen that the less complex level of Knowledge tends to predominate over the more complex level of Intellectual abilities and skills in the latter half of the course.

TABLE 3 Judged cognitive demand level composition apportioned between Knowledge and other levels, of the samples taken from the 10 units of the published I.S.C.I.P. course.

UNIT NO.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Knowledge	4	2	1	0	1	4	8	9	8	12
Other Levels	16	19	28	7	27	28	19	12	30	15
Sample Size	20	21	29	7	28	32	27	21	38	27

A comparison of the first with the last three units as shown in Table 3 above, showed the difference between them to be significant (χ^2= 10.91 p<.001).

DISCUSSION

The consistency between judges in assigning questions to levels of the cognitive domain appears to be satisfactory, as does their consistency in dealing with the same sample after a lapse of time.

The progression from lower to higher levels of the cognitive domain in the interpretive work to be done by the student following experiments is supportive of the claim that I.S.C.I.P. is suited to the needs of the multi-ability groups. The evidence that more Knowledge as opposed to Intellectual Abilities and Skills is demanded in the latter units of the course is not supportive of any suggestion that I.S.C.I.P. seeks to progressively increase the level of pupils' cognitive domain work over the complete course. One possible reason for this apparent progressive move towards Knowledge might be a perceived need for reiteration. Could the cognitive demand structure of the proposed examination have influenced even the course designers?

The demands judged to have been made by the sample of I.S.C.I.P. paper questions are in close agreement with those reported by O Maoldomhnaigh et al. (1987). At least in terms of results of this study there is indeed a mismatch, the written examination sample having been judged to make no demand at all for what Simpson and Anderson (1981) describe as "higher order objectives". The written examination might well be described as a recall exercise and the I.S.C.I.P. course as being an exercise of understanding and to some extent constructive thinking. The written examination must, of it's cognitive demand nature, discriminate against those candidates who have gained most from participation in I.S.C.I.P.

It was observed that in many instances the examination questions required candidates to recall and identify outcomes of course questions which had, when first dealt with as part of the I.S.C.I.P. course, demanded use of higher cognitive levels. This suggests that at the examining level there may well exist some confusion about the difference between, for example, synthesising and recalling the outcome of a synthesis made some time in the past.

To what extent does the unconsidered continuous assessment element of the examination contribute to balancing the examination by demanding more complex cognitive levels of the candidate? While this study does not investigate this aspect in any detail a brief overview of the guidelines offered to teachers for allocating continuous assessment marks (Rosney 1978) is not encouraging. Psychomotor and Affective domains predominate and where the cognitive domain is represented, it appears to be at it's least complex levels.

It would appear that those concerned with I.S.C.I.P. who have already done so much to improve the potential quality of science education at junior cycle level, have now, through it's examination, the opportunity to reinforce and extend this.

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COMPUTERS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Gerard Enright

As we approach the end of another decade of rapid expansion in the short history of computer technology we are inescapably aware of the revolutionary impact of our own inventions on our lives. Many of us are already working with computers and many others are learning about them. Very few have remained indifferent to this exciting facet of modern times. With ready access to the present generation of microcomputers, which are affordable and easy to operate, we have an ever-widening range of applications and increasing familiarity with the equipment. As new work practices are being introduced, new opportunities opened up and new leisure pursuits devised, old fears are being conquered and we are beginning to feel comfortable in the technological age.

It has been a quite common occurence in recent years for adults to learn about computers from children. Children approach computers as new toys. They explore the new environment without inhibition and with great excitement. Reluctant parents are introduced to computers by their sons and daughters. Hesitant teachers are taught by their pupils. Together we are reassured that while we have sophisticated machinery at our disposal, the computer on its own can do nothing and we humans are still in charge. It is with this realisation which is the essential starting point that we relax and are willing to explore possible applications. In their book *Using a Microcomputer in the Classroom*, Gary Bitter and Ruth Camuse[1] put it as follows:

> To some people, computers are intimidating, omniscient, omnipotent humanoids in the process of taking over the world. These people suffer from frightening images of an impersonal, inhuman future presented in such literary works as 1984 and Future Shock. They fear that computers will violate their right to privacy, irreconcilably complicate their lives, and result in a society of human beings no longer capable of thinking for themselves.
>
> Such fears are the results of a fundamental misunderstanding of what computers actually are and how they function. Simply put, a computer is a machine that processes information electronically. It accepts input, manipulates data, and produces output in some form for display. The key concept to remember is that computers follow the instructions they are given. They are the obedient servants of those who program them.

Education in its broadest sense is a preparation for life. As such it is designed to enable children to develop their talents and to equip themselves for a rewarding life. Such general aims have been stated in the Primary School Curriculum Teacher's Handbook[2] and more recently in the Curriculum and Examinations Board Discussion Paper on Primary Education.[3] Such principles also underlined the Programme for Action in Education 1984-1987.[4] Stating aims and aspirations, however, doesn't achieve them and we must always be open to close examination of performance and to improvement, where necessary. It is difficult to implement a child-centred curriculum in a large class. It is impossible to meet individual needs with so many seeking attention. There are compromises between theory and practice; between the ideal environment and the real classroom. Can the computer help? Yes, if we use it properly.

When we introduce primary school children to computers, we seek to improve their learning environment.

We may see the computer in the classroom as a means of individualizing instruction; as a tool with which children can explore new concepts and as a medium in which they can think and learn to structure their own thoughts. The computer can be used for self-paced or child-controlled learning. It can be a useful stimulus for the unmotivated and a patient tutor for the slow learner. For the bright and gifted the computer can be an avenue to further exploration and a source of additional challenge. To all it can bring a sense of satisfaction in achievement and a new means of enjoying the learning experience. The success or failure of attempts to have the computer live up to such expectations in our classrooms will depend on the expertise of the teacher introducing computer-based learning materials and on the quality of the software used.

Teachers will approach computers with different expectations. Some will see the computer as an electronic blackboard capable of instant display of graphical material; others will want to use it as a word-processor and record-keeper. Some will see the computer as an assistant tutor for employment with individual children and small groups while others will find it useful as a mechanical calculator. The computer is all of these things and more, but, each application needs a program of instructions. Few teachers will become programers and be involved in software production. Most will rely on commercially produced packages. It is crucial, however, in these years of pioneering experimentation and research, that educators and programers should learn something of each others work and appreciate the requirements of each other's disciplines so that they may communicate with each other and collaborate in the production of good educational software.

Computer manufacturers and software producers must be open to suggested improvements regarding suitability of products for school use so as to ensure that technology is tailored to the needs of children rather than vice versa. Schools too must consider traditional work-practices, not with a feeling that technology demands change, but with an understanding that technology may facilitate worthwhile change. Whether the computer revolution provokes a revolution in our classrooms remains to be seen but there is an exciting challenge to be met. In his book Brave New Schools Glenn Kleiman[5] describes a fictional school in which modern technology plays an integral part in teaching and learning.

> The teachers at Babbage School strive to help students develop general research, thinking and communication skills. They emphasize that students should learn to find and use information effectively, rather than try to remember as much as possible. The children at Babbage School work individually and in groups on different lessons and projects. Often they can choose how they will approach learning a topic, as well as when they will work on which lessons. The teachers try to make sure each child engages in a balanced variety of activities each week, while allowing sufficient opportunities for students to emphasize areas of special interest.

How then does one program a computer to make it a teaching and learning aid? Nowadays, the end-user is far removed from the internal workings of the machine. A variety of high-level programming languages have been devised in the interface between spoken English and machine code. These allow for easier program writing and the necessary translation is automatically handled by the computer.

BASIC is one such language and modern microcomputers are generally equipped with a version of BASIC in which the system is ready to be programed as soon as it is switched on. It is essential to learn the rules of a language in which one wishes to write a program as every rule must be carefully implemented. The instruction PRINT 5 will cause a 5 to appear on the screen; PRINT HELLO will output a zero; PRINT "HELLO"will give the word HELLO. The instruction PRINT NAME$ may ask the computer to return the user's name but it will not do so. However, if we type NAME$ = "GERARD" and then PRINT NAME$ the computer will respond with the name GERARD on the screen.

A BASIC program to find the average of a list of ten numbers could be as follows:

```
 10  DATA  9, 2, 8, 4, 7, 11, 12, 18, 3,10
 20  FOR I = 1 to 10
 30  READ A(I)
 40  NEXT I
 50  FOR 3 = 1 to 10
 60  SUM = SUM + A(J)
 70  NEXT 3
 80  AV = SUM / 10
 90  PRINT "AVERAGE IS", AV
100  END
```

The FOR ... NEXT loop in statements 20, 30, 40 causes the ten numbers to be read from the data statement and the loop 50, 60, 70 causes each in turn to be added to a variable called SUM which would be initialised at zero. Then instruction 80 causes the average to be calculated and 90 has the result printed. If the average of another set of ten numbers is required then statement 10 must be changed accordingly. The following program will calculate the average of an indefinitely long list of non-zero numbers, using a zero input to denote the end of the list.

```
10  INPUT  NUM
20  IF  NUM = 0  THEN  60
30  N = N + 1
40  SUM = SUM + NUM
50  GOTO 10
60  AV - SUM / N
70  PRINT  "THERE WERE " N " NUMBERS"
80  PRINT  "AVERAGE IS " AV
```

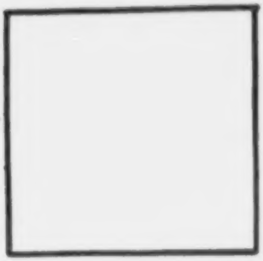
These examples are given to show the kind of language used in BASIC. Flowcharts, which are diagrammatic representations of program steps, are frequently used as an aid to program design and every logical step must be recognised and coded according to the rules and syntax of the language.

LOGO is another computer language. It is available as an optional extra for most school micros, and children may be introduced to it at a very young age. LOGO is considered to be particularly suitable as a programming language for children as it allows them to handle quite complex procedures from very simple beginnings. LOGO provides a supportive environment for exploration and discovery and it enables children to participate actively in their own education. The origins of LOGO, the educational philosophy which gave rise to it and details of the language itself are given by Seymour Papert,[6] Professor of Mathematics, and Professor of Education at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in his book Mindstorms, Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas, from which the following quotation is taken.

> Two fundamental ideas run through this book. The first is that it is possible to design computers so that learning to

> communicate with them can be a natural process, more like learning French by living in France than like trying to learn it through the unnatural process of American foreign-language instruction in classrooms. Second, learning to communicate with a computer may change the way other learning takes place. The computer can be a mathematics-speaking and an alphabetic-speaking entity. We are learning how to make computers with which children love to communicate. When this communication occurs, children learn mathematics as a living language. Moreover, mathematical communication and alphabetic communication are thereby both transformed from the alien and therefore difficult things they are for most children into natural and therefore easy ones. The idea of "talking mathematics" to a computer can be generalized to a view of learning mathematics in "Mathland"; that is to say, in a context which is to learning mathematics what living in France is to learning French.

A few examples of turtle geometry will illustrate the workings of LOGO and the power of the language. We are presented with a screen representation of a turtle, a small animal which can move and turn according to instructions given by the child. The primitive instructions are FORWARD, BACK, LEFT, RIGHT and it is necessary to provide a number with each such command to tell the turtle how far to go or how much to turn. Usually the turtle will draw as he moves. An electronic robot called a floor turtle may be used to bring this concept alive for very young children. With this little information a child may be asked to draw a square. There will be many attempts using different numbers with the primitive commands, comparing turns which are too great or too small and lines which are too long or too short, moving through near-squares to finally produce a square. The child will then have discovered that commands such as the following are appropriate.



```
FD 100  RT 90
FD 100  RT 90
FD 100  RT 90
FD 100  RT 90
```

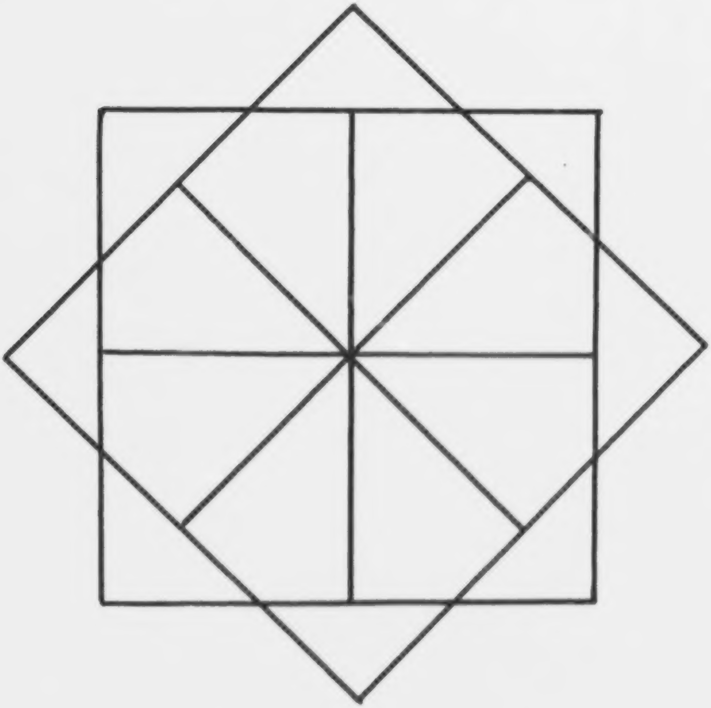
We have used the abbreviations FD for FORWARD and RT for RIGHT and drawn a square of side length 100 turtle steps. Bearing in mind that we do not tell the child that the four sides must be of equal length or that 90° is the correct angle of turn at the corners but rather let these facts be discovered, we feel that the lesson is learned more thoroughly and is more likely to be retained.

Turning now to what we call procedures we see how the child becomes teacher. At first if the word SQUARE is typed, it is not a recognised command and a message will be printed saying that the turtle does not know how to draw a square. The child, however has discovered how to draw the square illustrated above and may teach this to the turtle by typing the following:

```
TO SQUARE
REPEAT 4  [FD 100  RT 90]
END
```

There is a special key to be pressed to make the turtle learn this and then if one types SQUARE, the full square of side length 100 turtle steps will be shown. This experience is a great reward for children, whether they are slow learners or very bright,and it is a stimulus for them to explore further and see what else they can teach the turtle to do.

Once the SQUARE procedure is defined it may be used as a command. REPEAT 4 [SQUARE RT 90] will produce a four-square pattern on the screen while a nice design of eight squares is obtained by REPEAT 8 [SQUARE RT 45] and looks like this.



Changing the angle of turn and the number of repetitions leads to different designs and to a discovery of the significance of the full circle angle of 300°. The use of variables occurs when the child wishes to draw a bigger square or a smaller square.

In LOGO mathematical tools are introduced to aid a design process. Mathematics becomes a means to an end and as children move from squares to other shapes and to drawings of houses, shops and offices. Giving free reign to their imaginations they will create drawings which appeal to them, they will use LOGO to do so and they will internalize the mathematics involved. Turtle geometry, however, is just part of LOGO and while many teachers are enthusiastically using it in school we are still a long way from the potential described by Papert.

In a recent article in the International Herald Tribune reporter Richard Sharpe[7] quotes Papert as bemoaning the fact that "we think of computers as helping schools in their task of teaching an existing curriculum in classrooms instead of confronting the fact that the computer puts the very idea of school into question". He goes on to quote Alfred Bork, Professor of Information and Computer Science at the University of California, Irvine as saying that "LOGO was too much of a cult. Some people were extremely enthusiastic about it but only a very small group of people can handle it well. Turtle geometry is only a small fraction of LOGO added after LOGO was written". Clearly we are still in the early years of a controversial development. Experimentation and debate continue.

In the same newspaper article Sharpe[8] says that in many countries a concerted effort was made to introduce computers into the schools in the hope of bringing about widespread curriculum changes and that by and large this has not happened.

> Instead of the grand design of LOGO, computers in secondary schools are providing limited assistance in four main areas: in teaching computer programming, computer literacy, cognitive skills and in

> learning a particular discipline. In each of these areas, however, the lack of suitable software is holding up progress.
>
> The expectation of widespread changes has given way to the sober realization that professional and meticulous software for education applications must be written.

Let us now turn attention to educational software. At first glance there appears to be a wide selection on the market. Teachers looking for applications other than LOGO and not wishing to write their own programs will seek out packages produced by others in areas of interest to them and they will expect to be able to use these with minimal computing expertise. It is wise to be cautious and to critically evaluate such products as educational aids. Try them out and judge for yourself. What is the aim of the computer-based lesson? Is it achievable? What teaching methods are used? Are they suitable for your class? How easy is it to operate? How difficult is it to recover from an error? Is it really an improvement on other methods? Is it worth the investment?

Software packages come in various types the most familiar of which are Drill and Practice programs. These use a simple question and answer format with right or wrong diagnosis of user's response. They may be used for test purposes and for practice of computational exercises. Tutorial programs do a little more in that information is presented for study before questions are asked. These may be used as supplementary material with individuals or small groups for revision. The tutorial aspect also comes into play when questions are answered wrongly. Instead of merely telling the user that the answer is wrong the computer will present some helpful information and ask the question again. Simulation programs provide models of real situations which could not otherwise be created in the classroom. As the children interact with models they live the situation, see the consequences of decisions taken and learn from experience. In such situations children may have to deal with an oil spillage off the coast, help a woodland animal to survive in a city, fly an air balloon or search for pirates' gold.

Educational adventure packages come in the form of instructional games. Children are fascinated by the fun element of playing a game and motivation is so high that teacher's difficulty is not in getting them to study the material presented and the situations encountered but in getting them to stop at the end of the alloted time. There are mathematical adventures, reading adventures and others which are not subject specific. They are generally presented in an imaginative setting which is attractive to children and can be used to support activities right across the curriculum. As well as having to read and re-read text or solve a mathematical puzzle, children are encouraged to develop a range of problem-solving skills; to appreciate the need for record-keeping; to communicate with each other and with teacher and to analyse their use of their own reasoning powers.

As we draw this paper to a close, the author is conscious of the fact that several matters which should be addressed under such a general title as Computers in Primary Education have been neglected due to limitations of time and space. We have said nothing on the role of wordprocessors in essay writing or on the use of databases for information storage and retrieval. We have not considered computer hardware; the suitability or otherwise of today's models and the likely features of the next generation. We have not mentioned the ordinary peripherals such as disk drives and printers nor such specialised units as touch-sensitive screens and concept keyboards. Leaving these topics aside let us end with a brief comment on teacher education.

We have said that the success or failure of attempts to use computers to enhance the educational environment of our primary schools will be largely dependent on the expertise of the teachers concerned. It will also depend on the support available to these teachers and on facilities provided for pre-service and in-service education so that appropriate knowledge can be acquired and expertise developed. Already Colleges of Education are dealing with the use of computers in the curriculum and student-teachers have opportunities to explore applications. Most teachers, however, graduated before such developments and must be catered for through in-service courses. For some years now short introductory courses have been offered by the Department of Education, by Teachers' Centres and by others and several hundred teachers participate in these every summer. Efforts have begun to provide more substantial courses during the school year. Teachers are keenly interested in computer applications and efforts to meet their needs must be fostered and extended.

Side by side with educational courses we have experimental research. Practical work is being conducted in schools and colleges and teachers and lecturers are themselves learning from the response of children. A major initiative was taken by the Department of Education when it launched a Pilot Scheme to consider the use of computers in thirty primary schools. This project was proposed in the Programme for Action in Education,[9] and conducted over a two year period 1984-1986. The latest official word at the time of writing (March 1987) is contained in the Progress Report for 1986 on the Programme for Action[10] which tells us that the project has been completed and a report is being finalised within the Department. Let us hope that the experience of this pilot scheme will give useful pointers towards the formulation of policy, that a comprehensive report will provide ample material for informed debate and that teachers may look forward to the establishment of a supportive environment in which we will know how best to use computers for the benefit of school-children and be able to do so.

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THE DIMENSIONS OF MATHEMATICAL GIFTEDNESS

Éamonn Ó Chriagáin

An old Tartar proverb, 'If you know too much they will hang you' quoted by Hitchfield (1973: 70), highlights in an extreme way the misunderstanding that has beset the gifted and talented in the past. Indeed the true nature of giftedness is as yet unclear, resulting in inconsistent and at times ill-inspired educational provision for gifted children.

In part fulfilment of the requirements for an M.Ed. degree in University College, Cork, the writer conducted a study investigating the defining characteristics and possibilities for development of mathematical giftedness in Irish primary school children. The resultant explication of some of the components of mathematical giftedness forms the basis of this paper.

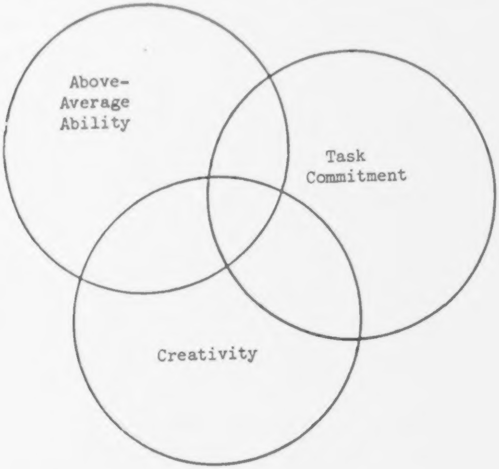
Giftedness and Mathematical Giftedness:

Firstly, an operational definition of the concept of mathematical giftedness was sought. The evolution of the concept of giftedness began at least as long ago as 2,200 B.C. when the Chinese considered the gifted to be those excelling in a civil service examination which tested rote memorisation. The sixth century Volga Bulgars likened genius to some kind of demon or god, prompting their custom that

> when they observe a man who excels through quick-wittedness and knowledge, they say: 'For this one it is more befitting to serve our Lord'. They seize him, put a rope round his neck and hang him on a tree where he is left until he rots away.
> (Koestler, 1976, p. 69)

Sir Francis Galton's study, Hereditary Genius (1869) strongly favoured the hereditary nature of giftedness, while acknowledging the importance of hard work. And in the 1920s Terman's seminal longitudinal study defined the gifted as 'the top one percent level of general intellectual ability, as measured by the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale or a comparable instrument' (Terman et al, 1926, p.43), that is those having an IQ of 140 or more. However, the arbitrariness of such baseline IQ measures of giftedness rendered them unsatisfactory. Subsequently, definition of giftedness incorporated the notion of specific as well as general forms of giftedness, and creativity also came to be acknowledged as a component of giftedness. Present-day understandings of what it means to be gifted are based on the Three-Trait-Interaction Model of Giftedness represented diagrammatically in Figure 1 below. This identifies three interlocking clusters of traits manifested by the gifted: above-average ability, creativity and task commitment.

Figure 1: The Ingredients of Giftedness (Chang,1984,p.233)



Therefore, research and deliberations regarding the nature of giftedness would appear to culminate in a definition of giftedness expressed thus:

> Giftedness is composed of three basic characteristics: above-average abilities, high levels of task commitment, and high levels of creativity. Gifted and talented children are those possessing or capable of developing this composite set of traits and applying them to any potentially valuable area of human performance.
> (Renzulli and Delisle, 1982, p. 727).

A similar process of definition refinement and redefinition can be seen in the development of the concept of mathematical giftedness. Some researchers, notably Krutetskii (1976), saw the mathematically gifted as those possessing certain component mathematical abilities. Others, including those involved in Stanley's Study of Mathematically Precocious Youth (SMPY) (Stanley, 1976) use mathematical test scores to isolate the mathematically gifted. Most recently the definition of mathematical giftedness has found expression in the Three-Trait-Interaction Model of giftedness. Thus a mathematically gifted child may be defined as one possessing the traits of above-average ability, creativity and task commitment. He appears to exhibit a high level of general intelligence composed in part of specific component mathematical abilities and aptitudes. He also seems to exhibit a high level of creative thought and reasoning in his manipulation of mathematical material, and to possess considerable powers of concentration and to be highly motivated when involved in lengthy, intensive mathematical activity.

Since this study sought to analyse the components of mathematical giftedness, strategies were chosen for the identification of two groups of children. One group was to comprise intellectually gifted children who were mathematically gifted, and the other was to consist of intellectually gifted children who were mathematically able but not mathematically gifted. On the basis of pilot test experience, and in accordance with the temporal constraints of the study, a test of general reasoning - the AH2 Test (Heim et al, 1974) - and a test of mathematical attainment, the Drumcondra Attainment Test (Level III Form A) Mathematics (ERC, 1977) were used. A test population of 2,028 children (968 boys and 1,060 girls) in the Cork city area was surveyed. For the purposes of this study, children whose scores placed them in the top two percentiles on the test assessing intellectual development were deemed to be intellectually gifted (N=71). From this Gifted Group, children whose scores in the mathematical ability tests ranked them in the top two percentiles constituted the Mathematically Gifted Group (N=24). Other children from the Gifted Group whose scores on the mathematical ability test indicated that they were able but not gifted at mathematics, made up the Mathematically Able Group (N=24). The children in both groups were intellectually gifted. The measured difference between them was in their varying levels of mathematical attainment. The subsequent testing of these two populations investigated what qualitative and quantitative differences, if any, existed in the dimensions of their respective mathematical abilities, so as to explicate the nature of mathematical giftedness.

To this end the research tests of Krutetskii (1976) were used since they consist of questions and problems specifically constructed to test the existence, nature and extent of the component elements which his longitudinal study has found to constitute mathematical ability. These tests, adapted for use in an Irish context with children of this age-group (10 - 12 year-olds), were used to assess each child's:

(i) ability to perceive a problem;
(ii) ability to generalise;
(iii) logic in reasoning;
(iv) ability to curtail the reasoning process;
(v) flexibility of thinking;
(vi) striving for elegance in the solution of a problem;
(vii) ability to reverse mental processes;
(viii) mathematical memory;
(ix) ability for spatial concepts.

Questionnaires were used to examine personal and familial details about the children in order to determine any correlates of mathematical giftedness. The testing of the children in the two sub-groups took place in their own homes, in the afternoons and evening, having been arranged by prior appointment with their parents. The Mathematically Gifted and Mathematically Able groups were tested on the nine component abilities which constitute mathematical ability, as outlined by Krutetskii (1976). Hereunder the test, testing procedure and test result for the first ability are given a fuller, more comprehensive exposition than in the case of the others in the interests of economy of expression, since each of the abilities were tested along largely similar lines.

The Ability to Perceive a Problem

This test sought to ascertain each candidate's 'mental perception of a mathematical problem' (Krutetskii, 1976, p. 105). The test was adapted by selecting only one of Krutetskii's problems for use and by changing the rubles units to punts. The problem contained no stated question, though a question proceeded logically from the mathematical relations it contained. Each child was given a card containing the problem and asked to read it.

If he formalised the information and grasped the interrelationships that existed in the problem he would be prompted to suggest the logical question. If he perceived the facts in the problem as unrelated it was unlikely that he would suggest the question. The problem, with the unstated question in parenthesis was:

> There are Ir.£ 140 in two cash boxes. If we move Ir..£ 15 from one cash box to the other, there will be equal amounts in the two boxes. (How much money in each box?)

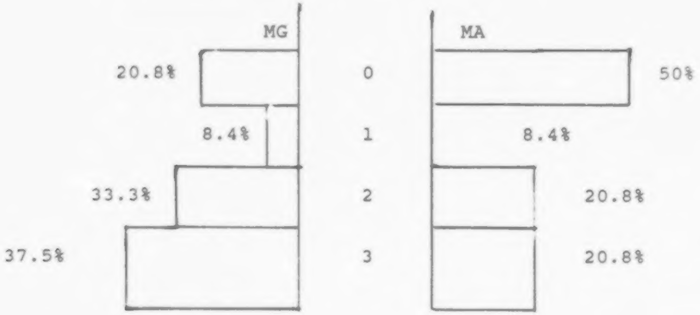
As with each of the nine tests, an Answer Profile was constructed to facilitate the recording of how the candidate approached this problem. It listed possible solution methods to record the type of solution selected, together with the questions which were asked of any child who experienced difficulty in formulating the question so as to record the amount of help required. The profile also contained space for recording the child's success or failure in posing the solving the question, and the time taken to react to the material and to solve the problem. The children's answers were scored according to the following marking scheme:

0 - failed to formulate question even with help from examiner.
1 - formulated question with help from the examiner.
2 - formulated question gradually, through trial and error.
3 - formulated question at once.

Using parametric and non-parametric tests of statistical significance, the scores of the two groups were analysed and they indicated a significant difference ($p<0.05$) between the mathematically gifted and the mathematically able in their ability to perceive a problem in logically related and dependent mathematical material. The scores of the two groups are represented graphically in Figure 2 below. As can be seen from this figure, the majority (70.8%) of the mathematically gifted children formulated the question without assistance from the examiner while the majority (58.3%) of the mathematically able children failed to do so, or required help from the examiner.

Thus, formalised perception of mathematical material is one of the differentiating features of mathematical giftedness.

Figure 2: Test (i) - Ability to Perceive a Problem. Graphical Representation of MG and MA Scores Results



SCORE	CANDIDATE
0	Failed to formulate question
1	Formulated question with help
2	Formulated question gradually
3	Formulated question at once

Ability to Generalise:

Aimed at testing each candidate's ability to generalise mathematical material, this test consisted of five variants of a problem. The variants ranged from (a) a completely concrete version of the question, through increasingly more generalised versions to (e) the most abstract form of the question.

(a) The length of a room is 6m. Its width is 3m, and its height is 3m. what is the volume of four such rooms?

(b) The length of a room is *b*m. Its width and height are *a*m. each. What is the volume of *n* such rooms?

If a child failed to solve the most abstract variant (*e*), he was given (*a*) to solve before being given another attempt at (*e*). Upon failure to solve (*e*) at his second attempt, he was presented with (*b*) and so on until he failed to solve one of the intermediate variants.

The maximally-extended order of presentation was *e a e b e c e d e*. The quantitative indexes employed to score this test were the level of abstraction of the most abstract variant solved, the number of intermediate variants required to reach this level of abstraction and the size of the last step taken by the candidate. Statistical analysis revealed significant differences between the two populations. The mathematically gifted solved more abstract variants and skipped more intermediate variants *en route* to these more advanced levels of abstraction. Therefore, the ability to generalise mathematical material was identified as one of the defining characteristics of mathematical giftedness.

Logic in Reasoning

To test the children's ability for 'sequential properly-segmented logical reasoning' (Kolmogorov, 1959,p.10), five number series problems were used. The children were asked to supply the next term in the series and were then questioned so as to ascertain the nature of their reasoning in deducing the rule underlying each series. The problems with the answers in parentheses were:

19, 16, 13, 10, 7 ..... (4)
3, 9, 27, 81, 243 ..... (729)
1, 4, 9, 16, 25 ..... (36)
2, 3, 4, 9, 16 ..... (81)
1, 2, 6, 24, 120 ..... (720)

Statistical examination of the scores of the two groups showed a highly significant difference ($P<.01$) between them in terms of the number of problems solved and the level of reasoning employed to solve them. The mathematically gifted solved more problems using more advanced insightful logic which showed a more sophisticated understanding of the principles of change governing the series. On this basis, it can be concluded that logic in reasoning is one of the distinguishing features of mathematical giftedness.

Ability to Curtail the Reasoning Process

A logic test, consisting of five problems of a similar type, was used to assess the children's ability to shorten the reasoning process employed in the solution of mathematical questions. The problems ranged in difficulty from the completion of an addition sum from which some of the digits had been deleted, through similarly incomplete multiplication sums, to the decoding of an algebraically-expressed addition sum where each of the letters represented a digit. The children were questioned about their solutions to ascertain the number of links involved in the reasoning processes they utilised. Upon comparison with the fully-elaborated processes of solving the problem it was possible to assess the extent to which the children had skipped some of the intermediate steps while solving the problems. Only a qualitative evaluation of the performance of the two groups on this test was possible since curtailment occurred at many different stages of the problems. This qualitative analysis indicated a significantly greater '"falling away" of individual links in the reasoning process' (Krutetskii, 1976, p. 264) of the mathematically gifted than that exhibited by the mathematically able.

Flexibility of Thinking

Test candidates were presented with twelve algebraic problems to investigate their 'facility in switching from one method of operation to another' (Krutetskii, 1976, p.139). The first 11 problems were similar and thereby established and reinforced a definite solution algorithm in the children's minds. The final problem, though superficially similar, was significantly different from the others and the test sought to assess the speed and the accuracy with which this could be solved compared with the others. Unfortunately, the majority (58.3%) of the mathematically able children were unable to solve the problems contained in this test. Even after guidance from the examiner, 50 per cent of those who did were found not to have noticed that the final problem differed from the others. In contrast, 70.1 per cent of the mathematically gifted children solved the problems and noticed the difference. Indeed, 29.1 per cent of them actually commented on the differing nature of the final problem while in the process of solving it, and one quarter of the mathematically gifted group solved it faster then they had solved the other eleven on average, demonstrating an exceptional flexibility of thought.

Striving for Elegance in the Solution of a Problem

This trait corresponds closely to the 'purpose of mathematics [which] is always to obtain not just any, but the most elegant, the simplest solution' (Glushkov, 1956, p. 5). Each child was asked to solve this problem:

Find the sum of all the integers from 1 to 50.

It was observed whether he was satisfied with his first solution or whether he sought a more elegant method. He was then asked to suggest as many other solutions as possible, the examiner demonstrated any he had omitted, and he was asked to choose the solution he preferred and to justify his choice. Statistical analysis of the results did not favour the inclusion of this trait in the components of giftedness since no significant difference existed between the two populations at .05 level. However, it is noteworthy that the scoring system devised by this examiner to rank the solution methods and preferences of the candidates was ordinal rather than interval.

Ability to Reverse Mental Processes

The ability 'to change from a direct to a reverse train of thought' (Krutetskii, 1976, p. 143) was tested by presenting each child with a 10 x 10 grid containing 100 three-letter combinations, 50 of which contained the letter 'A'. The child was asked to mark as quickly as possible all the combinations containing 'A' and then given a second copy of the grid on which he was to mark the combinations not containing 'A'.

Any child capable of reversing the mental processes involved in these equally difficult tasks would not take appreciably longer to complete the reverse task, and would not make substantially more errors in doing so. No statistically-significant difference was found between the scores of mathematically gifted and mathematically able children on this test. Worthy of mention is the fact that this was a non-mathematical test in which perceptual ability was of considerable importance. Since all the children being tested were intellectually gifted it is to be expected that they would perform equally well on such a test.

Mathematical Memory

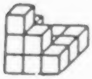
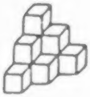
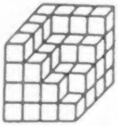
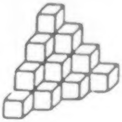
To test 'memory for generalisations, formalized structures and logical schemes' (Krutetskii, 1976, p.88), each child was asked to read the following, deliberately-complex problem:

> On the first day, 2/11 of the potatoes in a storehouse were shipped out, twice as many were shipped on the second day, and one-fifth of the remainder on the third day, after which 48 tonnes were left. How many potatoes were in the storehouse?

He was then asked to repeat the problem from memory. The statistical analysis of the answers of the two groups showed a highly significant difference between them. The mathematically gifted children remembered far more of the generalised essential relations in the problem with memorization of such a 'condensed' form (Bruner, 1960, p.25) being more economical in that it eliminates irrelevant material thus extending the period of retention and making the information more accessible. This was evidenced by the answer of one mathematically gifted child who used his recollection of the 'essence' (Krutetskii, 1976, p. 105) of the problem to deduce that the concrete data he had postulated would make the problem insoluble and to compute the correct figures mentally.

Ability for Spatial Concepts

To examine the extent to which each child was capable of 'mentally "seeing" solids' (Krutetskii, 1976, p.169), the children were shown these diagrams of different configurations of cubes and asked to count the cubes:

An ability for spatial concepts facilitated the mental visualisation of the three-dimensional solids. To aid the less able, some children were allowed to draw out the arrangements of cubes or to assemble wooden building blocks to replicate the diagram. There was a highly significant ($p<0.01$) statistical difference between the scores of the two populations. The mathematically gifted had a better understanding of the spatial inter-relationships embodied in the three-dimensional figures and used more insightful methods to calculate the number of cubes contained in each configuration.

Indefatigability and 'Inspiration'

Qualitatively speaking, there was a marked difference between the two groups of children in terms of their 'indefatigability ... during extended and intensive mathematical activity'(Krutetskii, 1976, p.310), a trait listed by Krutetskii (1976) as one of the characteristics of gifted children. The mathematically gifted children tested in this study showed far greater persistence when completing the problems, frequently asking for extra time, and showed demonstrably less signs of fatigue in the form of basic computational errors towards the end of the testing period.

Krutetskii also observed the phenomenon of 'sudden and seemingly inexplicable "inspiration" in the solution of problems' (Krutetskii, 1976, p.309) amongst gifted test candidates. While such" inspiration" is both topical and temperal, three of the mathematically gifted children tested in this study solved some problems almost instantaneously and apparently without any reasoning. A problem, which on average took the mathematically gifted children 101 seconds to solve, was completed by one boy in just two seconds. When questioned about how he calculated it, he replied: 'I just thought of it. I didn't really work it out'. Krutetskii postulated that such inspirational solution of problems exemplifies very advanced levels of the ability to generalise and the ability to curtail the reasoning processes, when dealing with mathematical material.

Questionnaire Results

On the basis of data collected in this survey of an admittedly limited sample, the correlates of mathematical giftedness - manifested to a greater extent by the mathematically gifted than by the mathematically able - were strong powers of concentration, sensitivity, a liking for mathematics as a school subject, and self-initiated, self-directed mathematical thought and activity.

Summary

The dimensions of mathematical giftedness explicated by this study are:

(a) The ability to perceive a problem inherent in mathematical material.

(b) The ability to generalize mathematical material.

(c) The ability to reason logically with mathematically material.

(d) The ability to curtail the reasoning processes involved in mathematical problem-solving.

(e) The ability to think flexibly when solving mathematical problems.

(f) The ability to memorize mathematical content.

(g) The ability to understand spatial concepts.

It is hoped that an understanding of these dimensions of mathematical giftedness would form the basis of a special programme of educational provision to facilitate the identification and development of mathematically gifted children in Irish primary schools. They deserve more sympathetic measures than the hangings both mental and physical of yesteryear. The education system should not only allow but encourage them to go where their peers will never go, where their teachers may not have been, but where they must go if they are to achieve optimal fulfilment and happiness, and society is to benefit fully from their potential.

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MAKING SENSE OF CONDONED ABSENTEEISM - PARENTS' AND PUPILS' VIEW

Leslie Caul and Joan Harbison

1. INTRODUCTION

This study was an attempt to look beyond the quantification of attendance rates at schools and to identify, not the pupils who absent themselves from school, but explanations for such non-attendance which were not solely based on the social and psychological profiles of the pupils involved. A group of pupils in the last two years of compulsory school in eight schools were identified by education welfare officers (EWO) as persistent absentees for reasons other than physical illness. The research was designed to look at the perceptions of school and absence of these pupils and their parents.

An analysis of the responses suggests that absenteeism from school is a highly complex process dependent on the interaction of the pupils, the parents and the teachers in two contexts the home and the school. It would appear that while education as a concept is viewed favourably by parents and pupils the competing demands of the world outside the school and an inability to accommodate these demands with their view of themselves in the school environment leads to an acceptance of absence from school as inevitable by both parents and pupils.

The research suggests that the process of condoning absence from school is multi-faceted and that the classification of such absence is problematic. It demonstrates that parents are willing to co-operate in such research and that a multi-dimensional approach to the problem can provide valuable insights into a complex process.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Early research into absence from school centred to a large extent on the definition of types of absenteeism, and on providing a social and psychological profile of representatives of each type in an effort to provide explanations. Maurice Tyerman's (1958; 1968) description of the truant as typically male, of poor and neglectful background, lonely and insecure, wandering away from home, has become the stereotype of such absence. The types of absentee which have been generally distinguished are school refusers, where the absence reflects a psychological disturbance (Hersov 1960; Clyne 1966), truants, whose absence is a behaviour disorder indicative of adverse social circumstances (Tyerman 1958; Cooper 1966), and "parentally withheld" children less strictly defined as "problem" families (Clyne 1966), who either keep their children at home or willingly condone their absence.

Although trends in the research do not follow a neat chronology, it can be said that in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies the emphasis fell less on categorisation and rather more on the attitudes and circumstances of a potentially disaffected, possibly low-achieving group (Fogelman and Richardson 1974; Willis 1976) whose absence might be seen as a response to their lack of status in an academic setting. The suggestion that absence from school might be a legitimate response to inadequate or inappropriate curricular provision re-emerged in a slightly different form in the "school effectiveness" studies of Reynold (1985) and Rutter (1979).

Galloway (1985) suggested that the old typology of absence could not be sustained. The categories, Galloway felt, had misleading pathological overtones which implied that absentees were passive victims of neurosis or a deficient environment. Little credence was attached to absentees' own interpretations of their actions - in fact these were seldom sought. In an attempt to quantify and classify non-attendance Galloway turned to the education welfare officers, who were involved with the non-attending pupils and who knew their families, for their assessment of parental complicity in the absence. Having thus identified a sample of persistent non-attenders, Galloway conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with the absentees and their parents. Using a multiple choice questionnaire, information was obtained about the socio-medical history of the family, absentees' behavioural problems at school, their reasons for the absence, and their anxieties about their parents' health. A unifying theme in the interviews was stress, whether in the form of over-crowding, unemployment, poverty or chronic illness, and Galloway concluded that the pupils' absence represented a legitimate and rational response to those circumstances under stress, school had become largely peripheral to their lives.

Reid's study (1985) gave similar weight to the views of the pupil, undertaking over 120 semi-structured pupil interviews. A picture emerged of low achievers disenchanted with teachers, the curriculum and school life, who largely blamed the institution for their absence but with the familiar factors, low socio-economic status and stress, still evident. Reid concluded that previous classifications of absence had excluded the influence of the school and the views of the pupil. If the notion that the school is a variable in attendance is to be incorporated in any explanation of pupil absence then it becomes necessary not only to accept the pupil's view as legitimate but also to accept the assumption that pupils react positively to a favourable school ethos (they attend) and negatively to what they perceive as irrelevant curricula (they don't attend). This assumption also underpins the "school effectiveness" argument (Reynolds 1985). In other words the pupil, and sometimes the parent, is seen as a consumer, making a rational choice in respect of educational provision.

3. THE STUDY

Despite the various shades of opinion and belief imputed to parents and pupils over the years the perceptions of parents themselves have seldom been the subject of research, and the pupils themselves have only latterly been consulted. This study attempted to take the classification of absence as condoned and validate it against the perceptions of those whose behaviour was being assessed, the parents and pupils themselves. It was hoped to obtain from them not only their perceptions of the absence, but also their view of the alternative behaviour. The research had three objectives:

i. to examine the accuracy and validity of the classification of pupils as "condoned absentees" by their education welfare officer and teacher
ii. of those children so categorised to establish the feasibility of contacting the children and their parents and
iii. to establish detailed information on the identified group.

The sample was drawn from eight Belfast secondary schools, four from the maintained and four from the controlled sector. There were single-sex female, three were single-sex male and two were co-educational.

Two schools each were drawn from the north, south, each and west of the city.

In an amended form of the questionnaire used in the Department of Education (NI) survey of 1982 education welfare officers and teachers were given six possible categories which could be used to classify the pupil's absence. (Absence in excess of 14 days during the Christmas term was deemed to be the cut-off point for "persistent" absence.) The categories were:
More than 50 per cent of the absence due to illness
Pupil was absent without parents' knowledge
Pupil was absent with parents' knowledge but parents were unable to insist on return
Pupil as absent for no apparent reason and with parent's knowledge
Pupil was absent for other reasons
Mixed category: where physical illness explained 50% or less of the absence - one other category to be indicated.

A total of 293 fourth and fifth year pupils were found to have been absent for a period in excess of 14 days during the term September-December 1985. (Figures for absence due to illness were unavailable for two of the schools.) Of that number, 122 pupils, representing 119 families, were identified as having been absent for reasons other than illness, or where illness explained less than 50 per cent of the absence. Education welfare officers and teachers did not adhere strictly to the guidelines for completion of the questionnaire, and where six possible categories or combinations of categories were offered, in practice ten or more were used. A breakdown of absence type by school and EWO/teacher is set out in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Absentees by school and area

	No on roll Year IV & V	Illness	Condoned Absence	Other Categories	Total
N.B.M.	231	51	0	7	58
V.C.C.	272	40	5	16	61
S.G.M.	154	10	7	8	25
S.C.C.	317	39	2	18	59
E.B.C.	149	15	14)	7	36
E.G.C.	190	16	8)	7	31
W.B.M.	Not	Not	7	6	13
	Supplied	Supplied	2	8	10
			45	77	293

Key

N - North

S - South

E - East

W - West

B - Boys

G - Girls

C - Co-educational

C - Controlled

M - Maintained

In eight cases, the education welfare officer or teacher who completed the questionnaire - indicated that it would be inappropriate to approach the parent so identified.

Eighty-one parents in all were contacted by letter. Of that number, seven stated that they were unable to take part because of family difficulties, eleven declined to be included, and in nine cases it proved impossible to gain entry. Fifty-four interviews with parents were completed.

One parent declined to have his child included in the survey, three pupils left at Easter and were not available for interview, and one pupil had been struck from the register after the twenty-first day of absence. Fourteen pupils were unavailable for interview due to absence from school. Thirty-six pupil interviews were completed.

Methodology

A letter advising parents of the purpose of the survey, and of how it was to be carried out, was sent to those parents who were selected. The letter was couched in an informal style and set out to assure parents of the confidentiality of the interview and the value of their co-operation. It also aimed to provide an introduction for the interviewer.

The semi-structured interview was chosen as the appropriate vehicle for the research, as it gave scope for pre-determined answers to specific questions, and for unpredictable, individual statements. It was hoped that by adopting this approach the interviewees would have some scope to define the structure and nature of the interview. It was further hoped that the questions implicit in the literature about parents' and pupils' perceptions of schools and education and how these effected attendance could be addressed from the responses obtained and alternative dimensions allowed to emerge.

In certain cases it was found that parents' memories and impressions of their own education provided a positive and encouraging point of departure for the interview. In others parents had a very definite point of view which they wished to state immediately and this governed the course of the interview and sometimes the interview was preceded by general conversation, or discussion about members of the family. At the close of the interview each parent was asked for permission to include his/her child in the survey and for the researcher to conduct an interview with the pupil during school hours. One interview with an absentee pupil was carried out with the parent present but this was felt to be unproductive and was not repeated.

The pupil interview generally began with the identification of the researcher as someone not connected with the authorities and an assurance of the confidentiality of the information imparted. Pupils were on the whole less likely to dictate the format of the interview than their parents had been.

An attempt to elicit an answer to all the questions was not made on every occasion, i.e. where the parent remained overly guarded or suspicious. Nevertheless, although the interviewer exercised a certain amount of latitude the interviews were not permitted to diverge significantly from the schedule as set out.

4. RESULTS

The Schools

There was variation between the schools in their estimated levels of "justified" and "unjustified" absence. Table 1 illustrates this and shows how almost half (22) out of the total (45) "condoned" absentees came from two controlled schools in East Belfast which were served by the same EWO. While it seems likely that this distribution reflects ambiguities in the categories and the difficulty of assigning pupils' absence to them inevitably it must also be influenced by the subjective judgments of EWO's and teachers.

The schools approached the subject of the study, and their involvement in it, with caution. This attitude was in contrast to the assent readily obtained from officers of the Belfast Education and Library Board and the Maintained Schools Commission. It was felt that the mechanics of carrying out the interviews might interfere with the running of the school and there was a real fear that parents might become alienated and hostile as a result of our enquiries. It also appeared that schools have learned to regard attendance as a measure of "effectiveness" in an informal sense and they were anxious to forestall any potentially detrimental findings. The social problems in their respective catchment areas, the justified or unjustified reputations of other schools, the rationale informing their inclusion in the survey, a suspicion that inclusion reflected upon their own reputation were all topics discussed with principals and teachers at some length. As with the education welfare service once their fears were allayed all those involved were co-operative.

It emerged during the study that individual schools practised different interpretations of the regulations relating to absenteeism. In one school a pupil might be "struck" from the register after the twenty-first consecutive day of absence, whereas in another this was regarded as impractical, as many pupils could disappear from the rolls. Suspension was rare in some schools, commonplace in others; where suspension recurred, parents were likely to express feelings of embarrassment, frustration and hostility towards particular members of staff rather than the school as a whole. Moreover, for our purposes, the status of the absence of a suspended pupil was ambiguous. It was unclear whether the absence of the pupil was simply the period pending reinstatement, whether this period was prolonged as parents became more apathetic, or whether the activities of pupils during such a period could be regarded as "condoned".

Some schools pursued the absences of non-exam fifth-years vigorously, others did not. There was also some evidence that the absences of able pupils were seen as legitimate, while that of their less able peers was viewed with some suspicion. A brother and sister going to separate schools - he was a prefect doing 'O' levels, she of much lower ability - were both identified in our survey as "condoned' absentees. The boy's absence was regarded by the principal as legitimate and not excessive and thus his inclusion in the study was greeted with some surprise, while that of his sister was accepted readily. it would appear that the interpretation by schools of administrative procedures and their perceptions of the significance of the pupil's absence, do themselves play a part in sustaining certain patterns of attendance.

The Parents

Although parents expressed some doubts as to the value of their own education their positive attitude to education and the importance of it for their children was surprising (Table 2). Claiming to have been regular attenders themselves, they were on the whole dissatisfied with their child's poor attendance but were inclined to believe that their son or daughter disliked school and to accept the inevitable consequence of that dislike. 70 per cent of parents claimed to know whether or not their son or daughter was at school, and also to insist on attendance - but 77 per cent were able to provide an account of their child's activities when absent. Most children were said to be involved in work of some kind (24 per cent), or at leisure (31 per cent). One 7 per cent were said to be involved in "caring".

Relationships with their child's school were generally regarded by parents as satisfactory in that the schools were approachable. More than half (54 per cent) had direct contact with the school during the previous year. Some (20 per cent) did express a wish for easier access but the majority (70 per cent) said they would be happy to discuss problems with the school.

TABLE 2

Parents' and pupils' responses to schooling

Question	Response	Pupil	Parent
Time spent in school useful?	Yes	40%	43%
Is it important to go to school?	Yes	68%	91%
How often did/do you go to school?	Always	8%	80%
Does pupil like school?	Yes	34%	31%
Would parents know if pupil was not at school?	Yes	84%	70%
Would parents insist on pupils' attendance at school?	Yes	55%	80%

The Pupils

Like their parents the pupils appeared to view education as a good thing but expressed reservations about the value of it for them as individuals. Only 40 per cent of the pupils actually felt that their attendance at school would have any pay off for them. 92 per cent (Table 2) acknowledged their poor attendance, and 66 per cent disliked or were indifferent to school. When pressed boredom, particular subjects and teachers were given by 65 per cent as reasons for not attending school. More than half the pupils felt they had no one with whom they could discuss it. However, only 18 per cent actually wished to change school.

When absent most said they were involved in some kind of leisure activity, or the care of a relative - smaller numbers were away from home or involved in work, 19 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. Boys were significantly more likely to be at leisure. Pupils saw themselves involved in work less than their parents did (24 per cent) and significantly more perceived themselves as "caring" (22 per cent).

Over half of the parents - 55 per cent - were characterised as making some form of protest about the absence (Table 2).

Pupils' perceptions of the importance of school for the future are related to practical relevance (or irrelevance) of the subject matter taught, and the place of education in obtaining employment. It may be a fact, in any case, that pupils do subscribe to highly instrumental beliefs about the value of education.

In response to the question is it important to go to school pupils believed it was but were at a loss to explain their initial reply, or else were only able to articulate their ideas vaguely.

5. DISCUSSION

The evidence which was collected as to the validity of the classification of absence as "condoned", demonstrated considerable variation and complexity. If "condonement" simply means parents' knowledge of the absence then 70 per cent of parents claimed to know if their child was absent from school and 77 per cent were able to account for specific instances of absence. They appeared to find absence from school commonplace and acceptable and did not appear threatened by questions relating to it. Indeed they appeared to find the absence they knew of as justifiable as over 80 per cent of the parents indicated that they would always insist on attendance. This would seem to be at variance with a classification of "condoned absence" if it means unjustifiable absence with parents' consent. This suggests that the classification of "condoned absence" needs some clarification as the Education Welfare Service and the schools do appear to regard "condoned absence" in this way. Within the concept there are complex issues of what is perceived as "justifiable" or "unjustifiable" absence from school. The perception of those observing the absence are of necessity constrained by the environment within which those observations are being made. The education system demands attendance at school but these demands may well be in conflict with those of the home environment. The process involved in responding to these needs may have considerable implications for pupils' attendance at school. From the evidence collected from talking with parents about the family and background of absentees the process cannot be explained or understood simply in terms of knowledge of levels of disadvantage or social deprivation.

The third objective of the study was to obtain detailed information on the identified "condoned absentees". However it appears that little can be added to what is already known about absentees but what is necessary is a greater understanding of the process involved. The set of interpersonal relationships which exist between pupils, parents, teachers, principals and the Education Welfare Service are as likely to be important in making sense of absenteeism as detailed descriptions of the pupils involved and their backgrounds.

The activities involved in by the pupils when not at school could be divided into two categories, those to do with caring and the home and those with a leisure or recreational orientation. The differences between boys and girls were significant - girls involved in home and boys in some form of leisure activity. It is not clear whether the motivation for staying away from school was the greater attraction of these activities or as some pupils suggested the dislike of some feature of school. It is interesting that both parents and pupils interviewed agreed that education was important although unable to articulate its value for them as individuals. They did not reject school and indeed most of them had no wish to change schools. However specific features of school were regarded as legitimate reasons for absence. For pupils these features were either, explicitly, a dislike of a particular teacher or implicitly the same reason but expressed as dislike of a particular subject. For parents negative features of the school also tended to be individuals and in cases where suspension had been incurred the degree of frustration and bitterness expressed about individual members of staff was considerable. Parents also appeared to find school personally threatening and on the whole did not wish to pursue greater links with it.

Absence may be generated from two different perspectives both of which may have considerable implications for schools. Firstly, the pupil may dislike school because of their perceptions of a particular teacher, a subject or even, but more rarely, the curriculum in general and may decide not to go. The parent, although not liking the non-attendance at school, has other more serious sources of stress to contend with and after some protest, allows the absence to continue. In these situations it is understandable that schools feel that the time and effort expended in order to get a 15 or 16 year old back to school is excessive and unproductive. Thus the absence becomes persistent absenteeism. Secondly, while the immediate cause for the absence is given as boredom, a subject or a teacher, the dislike of school is in fact an inheritance from long standing failure and low self-esteem in the school environment. This may reflect and reinforce the remoteness of school from everyday life where these pupils can assume responsibilities and behave competently in situations of difficulty and stress in excess of anything required of them in school. Both parents and pupils emphasised the importance of "relevance" and were unable to articulate clearly the "value" of education. This seems to suggest that "relevance" and "value" are perceived in some way differently and not necessarily as the school perceives them. Parents' reluctance to make or sustain contact with school and when required to do so, as in cases of suspension, feel embarrassed or threatened, may in part be explained by the divergence of values here and the inability to comprehend or verbalise the significance of the divergence for them. The parents and the pupils did not appear to blame deficiencies in the system for lack of academic success but rather to assume that such success was the responsibility of the individual.

It would also appear that, in this model, the incompatibility of the pupil, his home and the school is accepted as inevitable and although parents protest sincerely about poor attendance they accept this view.

These models of the process of absence are examples of an attempt to make sense of the process of absenteeism. They are not mutually exclusive nor do they reflect all aspects of the evidence collected in the study. However they do indicate the importance of seeking a model or models by which to interpret absenteeism and to permit the system and the schools to respond to it.

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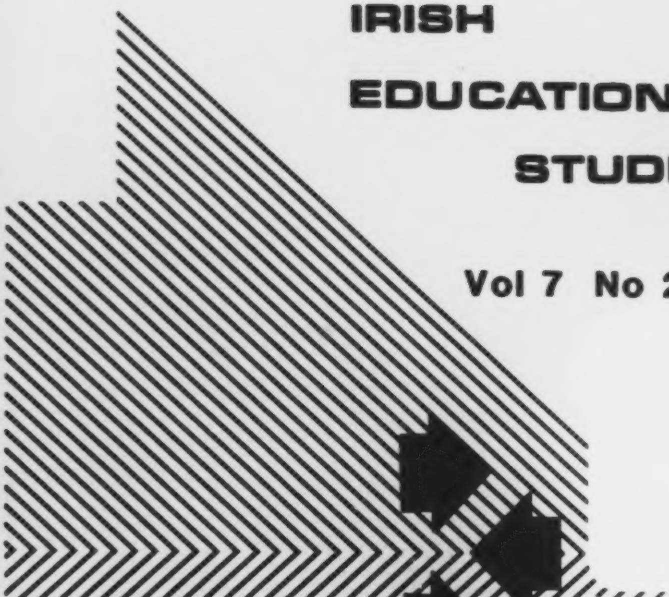

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Notes on Contributors

Mr John Logan is Lecturer in Education, Thomond College, Limerick.

Mr Sean Farren is Lecturer in Education, Education Centre, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Co. Derry.

Mr Anthony Motherway is a National school teacher and part-time Lecturer in Our Lady of Mercy College, Carysfort, Co. Dublin.

Dr Micheál Ó Murchú is Education Manager, Bord na Gaeilge, Dublin.

Dr Dennis Hainsworth is a post-primary teacher in Coolmine Community School, Co. Dublin.

Ms Susan O'Connell is a primary teacher in Dublin.

Dr Jean Whyte is a Lecturer in the Department of Remedial Linguistics, Trinity College Dublin.

Ms Peggie Geraghty is Lecturer in Education, Mary Immaculate College of Education, Limerick.

Dr Liz McWhirter, Ms Ursula Duffy, Mr Robert Barry and Ms Grace McGuinness are in the Policy Planning and Research Unit, Department of Finance and Personnel, Stormont, Belfast.

Mr Dermot Dunphy, Ms Pauline Flanagan and Dr Hugh Gash are in the Education Department, St Patrick's College of Education, Drumcondra, Dublin.

Ms Bridie Barnicle is Lecturer in Education, Thomond College of Education, Limerick.

Dr Ann Breslin is with the Council for Research and Development, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co. Kildare.

Mr Tomás O Briain is a National school teacher in Tallaght, Co. Dublin.

General Editor's Comment

Volume 7, Number 2 contains thirteen papers devoted to the study of historical issues, psychological inquiries, education for labour and the transition to working life, pupil stress, school discipline, values and moral education, and the education of an Irish minority group - the "travelling people".

We begin with five papers concerned with the history of education. It seems to me that to understand contemporary issues and problems requires an historical understanding, for one must know the path which has led to the present. As George Santayana remarked in his The Life of Reason (1905) "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it".

John Logan drills a new furrow with his penetrating analysis of domestic education in the period 1700-1870 in Ireland; that is, education in the household by governesses, tutors and parents.

Sean Farren examines the interesting theme of the collapse of the all-Ireland dimension of teacher education in 1922, which is all the more apposite in terms of intercultural cooperation in contemporary Ireland.

Mr Anthony Motherway continues his inquiries into primary school history curriculum development during the period 1922-1986.

Dr Micheál Ó Murchú provides an essay on Alfred O Rahilly and his contributions to university adult education in University College Cork.

Dr Dennis Hainsworth breaks new ground for the Journal with his study of Soviet education, principally methodology and pedagogical theorizing, charting significant developments from the foundation of the Soviet State in 1917 up to 1980.

Ms Susan O'Connell offers an inquiry into the background, motivation and personality characteristics of two groups of student teachers.

Dr Jean Whyte reports on a study of two groups of low socio-economic status boys in primary and post-primary education on measures of personality, self-concept, attitudes, ability and scholastic attainment.

The final six papers represent a broad array of research interests including education for work, pupil stress, discipline in schools, moral education and the education of travellers.

Two papers are published on aspects of education for work. Ms Peggie Geraghty contributes a philosophical piece in the form of a humanistic critique of the notion of education for labour. Dr Liz McWhirter and her colleagues Ursula Duffy, Robert Barry and Grace McGuinness examine the transition from school to work by studying a cohort of young persons experiencing the process of education and vocational training in Northern Ireland.

Mr Dermot Dunphy, Pauline Flanagan and Dr Hugh Gash offer some perspectives on discipline in schools.

Ms Bridie Barnicle examines the question of pupil stress to determine if it is fact or fiction.

Dr Ann Breslin discusses critically the concept of values clarification as an appropriate methodology for moral education and explores some aspects of the present "Education for Living" controversy.

Finally, Tomás O Briain provides an ethnographic account of educational provision for travellers through fieldwork and interviews with adult travellers in his attempt at exhuming the insider perspective on educational policy.

By way of introducing this number of the Journal I would like to preface my remarks with two sets of congratulations. First, I would like to extend congratulations to Professor John Coolahan, member of the Editorial Board, former Editor of Irish Educational Studies, and revered colleague at U.C.D., for his promotion to the Chair of Education in St Patrick's College, Maynooth during 1987. Professor Coolahan's exemplary scholarship, academic prowess, leadership, wit, warm sense of humour and humanity are widely recognized both at home and internationally. We take great delight in applauding his achievement and we wish him well in his new and challenging position of educational leadership.

Congratulations are also due to dear old Dublin, home of Irish Educational Studies, in this her Millenium Year. Happy 1000th Birthday Dublin! Through your lovely people, fine institutions and wonderful Georgian architecture, you stand out as one of the finest capital cities of the world. Perhaps our own man of letters, Oliver St. John Gogarty best captures something of Dublin's special charm and character in the following lines:

> But who can vanished Time rebuild?
>   When dreaming in the gloom
> Sometimes at eve, when noise is stilled,
> And all the middle air is filled
>   With moted light and bloom,

The rose-red Georgian houses seem
To catch a glory and to gleam
    As when their lights of old
Shone out, with many a taper's blaze,
On Dublin of the bounteous days.
    Built by the liberal and the bold
In spacious street and square,
    What memories are theirs to hold
Of gallant and of fair!
Each room a house, each house a town,
    Each hall a thoroughfare!
Where feast was set and dancers swirled,
    Where bravery was seen
With beauty powdered and be-pearled,
    Where talked the lucid Dean -
A Naples of the western world,
    As fair a water's Queen!

(Oliver St John Gogarty, 1912)

The Editor wishes to thank all members of the Editorial Board and our external academic referees and readers for their assistance. This Volume is dedicated to the good people of Dublin in honour of the Millenium celebrations.

Dr Jim McKernan,
General Editor, Irish Educational Studies,
Education Department,
Arts/Commerce/Law Building,
University College Dublin,
March, 1988

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GOVERNESSES, TUTORS AND PARENTS: DOMESTIC EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 1700-1880

John Logan

In comparison with schooling in formally constituted institutions, education within the household has been neglected by historians. The data produced by official reportage of education over the past two centuries has given a vast legacy of research material for the history of formally established schools and may have created the impression that the education of a people can only be studied through documentation generated by central and local government. More fundamentally, imbalance may simply be the result of a concentration on the history of those institutions which have now become synonymous with education : schools. The exception is a paper by Professor Louis Cullen on the tutor in households of the gaelic tradition during the century-and-a-half from 1700.[1] This present paper is an attempt to examine domestic education during the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century but by looking at the activities of a wider range of educators, including family members.

Establishing the importance of tuition in the life of the 'big house', Cullen has drawn a vivid picture of the teacher whose role was utilitarian, subservient, perfunctory and impoverished. Poets and transcribers of manuscripts were frequently recruited as tutors: thus the prestigious patronage of literary men was combined with the practical task of having children instructed. The likelihood that only a few families would retain the services of a teacher is confirmed by the small number in the surviving enumeration forms of the national census for the period 1821 to 1851.[2] The 1821 manuscripts contain details of approximately 16,000 households in Cavan, Fermanagh, Galway, Meath and Queen's county, yet only eight of those households included a resident teacher.[3] The census manuscript forms from 1841 cover Killeshandra in Cavan where of the 2,300 households, four employed a teacher.[4] The manuscripts of the 1851 census supply details of 4,800 households in Antrim of which only three employed a teacher.[5] The census data also gives a clear impression of social exclusiveness: these families were generally wealthier, had larger households and more servants than their neighbours. Of sixteen households, six had 'clergymen' at their heads, five had 'landed proprietors', four had 'gentlemen', and one a 'peer'.

Less well off families might pool their resources and share the services of a teacher and there were others which employed a teacher on an occasional basis. A network of Townsend and other gentry families in west Cork, for example shared teachers.[6] A dancing teacher came every few months as did language teachers who left work to be completed before their return. An analysis of the advertisements in the Irish Times, - the principal source of such notices, during the period 1851-91, suggests that by then non-residential positions allowing teachers to serve in a number of families simultaneously, were preferred by domestic teachers themselves. The sharing of a teacher between several families moved well down the social scale and took various forms. The arrangements made by the Townsends can be compared with those of humbler and anonymous families such as those noticed in 1808 by Hely Dutton in Clare who in the winter months accommodated a teacher in turn [7] or the families in Kilworth who provided board for young scholars from the local classical school in return for tuition.[8] In one case the descriptions are of governesses and tutors; in the other of 'wandering' or 'poor' scholars. The terminology suggests differences which were more apparent than real and tends to mask the similarities: low-paid teachers, without dependents, seeking out household's wherein a living could be procured.

The census occupational tables show that throughout the period, from 1841 to 1861, governesses were members of one of the smallest occupational groups but scarce and all as they were, in 1861, they outnumbered tutors by ten to one.[9] This is not too surprising, for of the sixteen cases of households with teachers in the census manuscripts of 1821, 1841 and 1851, all but three were women. In general, if a male tutor was employed it was for the tuition of older boys, and women were employed as governesses for girls and for younger boys. Consequently wealthier households might have had the simultaneous services of both a tutor and a governess. These households could afford to encourage a sharp distinction between the role and duties of both a governess and a tutor and reinforce and extend this 'division of labour' by retaining maids and nurses to provide for the needs of younger children. At Birr Castle in 1840 for example, a nurse cared for the infant in the family. A governess taught a girl aged five, and three boys aged seven, nine and eleven and a tutor was responsible for a fourteen year old boy.[10] In a county Meath rectory home, Alice Stopford Greene (1847-1929) and her three sisters were taught by a governess while her five brothers were taught by a tutor.[11] A gender distinction might also be maintained in households which employed a teacher for some of the children while depending on family members for the instruction of the others. Thus, in the county Limerick home of Gerald Griffin (1803-1840) a tutor was employed to teach him and his brother. His two older sisters had been taught by their mother and, in turn they helped with the tuition of two younger sisters. The girls however, joined their brothers for French lessons from the tutor. [12] In more modest households the distinctions blurred and a tutor or more likely, a governess might teach both boys and girls, for, in general, the employment of a male tutor was the exception rather than the rule.

Regardless of the resources of the household within which she found herself, the governess was constantly reminded of the conflicts inherent in her status. She might not be burdened with the physical hardships of the other domestic servants but she was clearly well within the ranks of servitude. It could never be otherwise for someone whose social origins did not match those of her employer. [13] In the late eighteenth century and in the earlier part of the nineteenth, orphanages and charity schools helped meet the demand for governesses: out of thirty-five young women who had 'passed through' a Dublin school of the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of English Protestant Schools in Ireland, between 1819 and 1825,twenty-one found employment as 'nursery governesses'. [14] In 1818 a female orphanage named after its benefactor Thomas Pleasants, was opened in Dublin. Its inmates were occupied in needlework, which along with religious instruction, was considered to qualify them to become schoolteachers or governesses in families 'of the first respectability'.[15] A similar institution, though recruiting its trainees from a more fortunate group opened in Cork in 1829 as the Cork Preparatory Seminary for Young Governesses[16] and its establishment may have been a significant step in the tendency towards the improvement of status of the governess. The middle of the nineteenth century saw a definite movement in both England and Ireland towards the raising of educational standards amongst governesses and the development by them of a quasi-professional identity. The Governesses Benevolent Institution (G.B.I.) had been formed in London in 1843 and it aimed to help young governesses find posts and to help older ones achieve a comfortable retirement.[17] In 1848 a group of individuals associated with the G.B.I. founded Queen's College in London, thereby hoping to raise the low educational standards amongst governesses. Its curriculum, in contrast to that of the orphanages and schools from whence governesses had formerly been recruited, included elementary science and literature as well as the more usual utilitarian and accomplishment subjects.

Charles Chenevix-Trench had been involved in both the management and the teaching of Queen's College and following his arrival in Ireland in 1863, as Archbishop of Dublin, he supported Anne Jellicoe and her friends who had been attempting to establish an Irish institution with aims similar to those of Queen's College.[18] In 1866 he convened a series of meetings which resulted in the establishment of Alexandra College in Dublin. Jellicoe had hoped that Alexandra, would, amongst other things, raise the educational level of teachers and governesses. In 1869 she founded the Association for promoting the Higher Education of Ladies as Teachers, or the Governesses Association of Ireland. It acted as an appointments bureau, a funder of scholarships, and as a pressure group with the aim of having university examinations available for women candidates from Alexandra College.[19] The Association grew and ironically, the success of one of its causes, the campaign for state funding of girls' schools may have contributed to a decline in the demand for governesses. The growing availability of cheap and sufficient girls' schools from 1880 onwards, providing the opportunity of participation in state and university examinations proved to be very attractive to families who might otherwise have employed a governess.

In contrast with governesses, tutors had a happier existence, a difference which stemmed from the greater importance given to the education of boys. Improvements in mortality levels amongst the aristocracy and gentry resulted in increasing numbers of younger sons who were faced with the unswerving principle of primogeniture. Provision had to be made for those, without putting excessive pressure on family wealth. Thus careers had to be made in the church, the law and the civil and military services and these required as a preparation some degree of classical and humane education.[20] In the debate on the relative merits of home or school education domestic tuition found prestigious advocates. John Locks for example, had written on the subject and argued against the 'crude and vulgar rough and tumble and the strong temptations to vice of a public boarding school'.[21] Professor Laurence Stone has suggested that the elite families withdrew their sons from local grammar schools during the eighteenth century fearing "moral contamination", especially from boys of lower social status.[22] At the best of times such families, dispersed through the Irish countryside, had very few local or public schools to choose from, and with travel to England still difficult, the domestic tutor had considerable attractions for them.

Authorities differed on the precise role of the tutor and their disagreement was a reflection of the general lack of consensus on what should be the goals of education. Many followed the advice of Locke and argued that the tutor should above all else be an exemplary individual who was both moral and wise.[23] Thus Laurence

Parsons (1758-1841) delighted in a tutor whom he had employed at Birr: 'a man of excellent principles, very careful and of good manners. I was always satisfied when they were with him'.[24] Tutors were, in general, recruited from a higher social class than were governesses and were expected to have achieved some degree of scholarship. Nonetheless, neither intellect nor breeding could alter a precarious and marginal status. In reality the tutor was remunerated not as a man of learning, but as an ordinary household servant, leading one of them to note that dancing masters were more highly regarded. "They live in the pomp of luxury", he complained, "while teachers of the arts and sciences droop in mean obscurity".[25] A second source of ambiguity existed in uncertainty as to whether or not the tutor was acting as a surrogate parent or simply complementing parental effort. If a tutor was merely an employee, could he be rightly regarded as a critical element in the formation of the next generation? The most fashionable eighteenth century writer on education, Jean Jacques Rousseau argued that the father was the natural tutor, but knew that most were either unable or unwilling to take on the task of tuition. Thus his prototype pupil, Emile was orphaned and had to depend on a tutor for his education.

Rousseau had a sufficiently large enough audience in Anglo-Irish society for Dublin booksellers to sell translations of Emile.[26] He impressed Emily, Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814) who wrote to him and offered him 'an elegant retreat' if he would take over the education of her children.[27] Her sister applied the lessons of Emile out of doors; - "which is very wholesome and quite according to Monsieur Rosseau's system".[28] But total commitment to a naturalistic and non-bookish education proved difficult; - "at night we depart a little from

Monsieur Rousseau's plan", she admitted, "for he reads fairy tales and learns geography on the Beaumont wooden maps".[29] Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1784-1817) was another enthusiast. In his memoirs, he described how having read Emile, he decided to follow its advice while educating his eldest son.[30] Edgeworth drew on his own experiences as a parental educator when he wrote *Practical Education*[31] along with other members of his family as a guide for parental educators and it joined a range of texts, ranging from Daniel Defoe's *The Family Instructor* (1715) to Isaac Taylor's *Home Education* (1831) offering help to home educators.

Apart from knowledge, parental tutors needed time and a clerical father was likelier than most to have both. Thus it is not surprising that the Trinity College admission books for the period from 1821 to 1891, indicate that of those students who had been educated at home, the majority were the sons of clergymen[32] and there are many accounts of childhood in a rectory or vicarage in rural Ireland which describe episodes of parental education: John Pentland Mahaffy (1839-1919), Douglas Hyde (1860-1949) and John Mitchell (1815-1875) were each educated by a clergyman father.[33] In 1851, the census commissioners attempted to collect information on pupils who were being educated at home by their parents and of the 4,000 forms which have survived from that count, only three are for homes where a parent acted as teacher.[34] Not surprisingly, two of these were clerical households; an Anglican vicar near Larne taught his ten-year-old son, while a neighbouring Presbyterian minister and his wife taught their four sons aged twelve, eleven, seven and five and their daughter, aged four.[35]

Some clergymen extended their pedagogic activities to other people's children and established academies in their own residences: Rev. Gilbert Percy curate at Ballinamore was doing this in 1834 [36] as was Rev. Mr Carlton who in 1824 had a school in his home near Ballymoney where he taught his own children and two others who boarded with him.[37] In particular, some Presbyterian clergymen, ministering in a relatively poorly endowed church might have found that tutoring with a family or holding a school at home, contributed significantly to their income.[38] In 1812 John Dubourdieu noted how some of the 'opulent' farmers in Antrim had employed aspiring ministers on vacation from the Scottish universities as tutors.[39] Similarly, tutoring might have acted as a safety-net for men at the other end of their career, such as the learned, though impoverished clergyman who was employed by the rector of Abingdon, to tutor his sons during the 1820s.[40]

The evidence, despite its limitations, suggests that the parental tutor was a rarity and likeliest is the case where the father was either a clergyman or a teacher and, in either instance, the tuition of his own children may have been combined with that of other people's children. Parents who had the interest, and the time to act as a child's sole teacher were very rare indeed and even the most committed such as Richard Lovell Edgeworth found that circumstances might force dependence on a tutor or even a school. Thus most cases of parental tuition were complementary to that given by either a tutor or a school. Such had been the experience of Joseph Sheridan le Fanu (1814-1873) who was taught English and French by his clergyman father but who received most of his tuition from a tutor.[41] Likewise Philip Herbert Hore (1841-1931) was taught Reading, Arithmetic and Latin by his father in Enniscorthy, but later he and his brother were taught by an itinerant tutor[42] and William Thomson (1824-1907), later Lord Kelvin received his earliest schooling from his father, a professor at Royal Belfast Academical Institution.[43] S.M. Hussey (1824-1913), a barrister's son noted how he learned his letters 'and a few other smatterings' from his mother before going to a local school in Dingle.[44] This was similar to the early educational experiences of Charles Russell (1832-1900), a brewer's son from Newry who became a Lord Chief Justice. His initial schooling was by his mother at home. This was augmented by a governess who taught him and his three siblings and prior to university he attended a number of day and boarding schools.[45] At Birr Castle, there were times when suitable tutors could not be found and then Laurence Parsons, unusually for an aristocrat, was eager to take an active part in schooling his sons: "I most carefully read over every morning the part which they were to say and examined every peculiar expression carefully. I was particular in making them acquainted with all the niceties of the language and in grounding them accurately in the grammar".[46]

It is reasonable to hypothesise that in families of more modest means, domestic tuition if it occurred, had to be integrated with a routine wherein even the youngest had a task to perform. In such households, the form of tuition was likelier to have been influenced by economic considerations than by educational theory. Inevitably accounts of life in such households are rare but there are enough to allow at least a preliminary reconstruction of the process. Take the case of Peadar O'Laoghaire (1839-1920): "During the day we worked on the little farm, such of us as were able to do any work at all. When night fell my mother lit the candle on the table, put us sitting round it, handed us the books and taught us our lessons. The teaching she gave us was much better than that given to the children who were going to school.

But it was thought, naturally enough, that the teaching in the schools was better". 47

This was the pattern of his tuition until he was thirteen and was enrolled at a newly opened National school. Poorer families were handicapped also by limited amounts of appropriate reading materials. This was the case in the Bailieborough home of Mary Jane Hill (1827-1924): "There were few books except the Bible - and even these were in no way plentiful. Such were expensive and few would purchase. A mother often taught her children at her knee to spell and read with no other text-book than a New Testament". 48 Support of school tuition could also come from neighbours. Mici MacGabhainn (1865-1948) came from a family without any literate adults. School for him did not start until he was seven and ended when he was eight but he believed that he learnt more from a neighbour who taught him to read and write using charred wood on the floor, than he did from his schoolteacher.49

As the decades passed, it was clear that more and more of the country's children would follow O'Laoghaire and MacGabhainn to school. The inability of most adults to read and write, one of the more striking features of late eighteenth century society, ensured that if children were to acquire literacy, it would not be from their parents. Thus the skills of reading and writing entered most households through its local school. But this is not to argue that schools became the source of literacy, let along its guarantor. Nineteenth century educationalists knew that the process of becoming literate depended on a range of institutions supporting and reinforcing whatever skills were being taught at school. The notion finds an early articulation in a story published by the Kildare Place Society, one of the staunchest advocates of the formally constituted school. In it William Casey, the son of 'poor but honest parents' taught his children to read and write. This took place at home, in the evening when the labours of the day were finished': significantly the children had laboured that day at a school and their father had himself once been a school pupil.[50]

The development of formally organised schools, particularly as a result of substantial state funding from 1831 onwards, created a range of schools suited to the means and the aspirations of most households. Under the control of the local clergy, and with state inspection and funding the National Schools appeared respectable, efficient and cheap. Thus they became the means whereby the vast majority of the nation's children could acquire skills of elementary literacy. [51] Similarly, a growing number of 'superior' schools offered a schooling to some of those families who had been dependent traditionally on domestic education, and the opportunity for such schools to avail of state funding from 1878 onwards did much to increase their attractiveness.[52] For the aristocracy and the gentry who had traditionally looked across the Irish sea for their schooling, the reforms of the public schools in the early part of the century, the growing number of preparatory schools and the easing of access which came with improvements in transport made an education in england an even more attractive prospect.[53] For the elite and the growing number of business and professional families who sought to emulate it, boarding education became attractive once more. Thus, one of its traditional aims - the creation of a range of appropriate friendships and social contacts in an environment free from moral and social contamination, could be achieved. From the 1880s onwards, competitive examinations for entry to the professions, to the universities and to most grades of the military and civil service began to undermine the importance of family connections, tradition and sponsorship.[54] Schools responded to this, and their growing effectiveness, as they aligned their curricula and performance with national norms in the latter half of the century, created a force which would be hard for domestic tutors to match.

While it is relatively easy to chart the growth of formal school institutions in the nineteenth century it is less easy to establish the pace of decline of the less formal domestic arrangements which they replaced. During the period from 1841 to 1861 when there may have been a half million pupils in the country, domestic tutors and governesses were unlikely to have had more than eight or nine thousand pupils under their care.[55] In 1861, with a total of 1,854, domestic teachers represented 11 per cent of the 17,474 in the country's educational workforce.[56] Thus, of undoubted importance in the education of some children, their overall impact by mid-century, was marginal. No clear trend is observable in the occupational data for tutors and governesses in the mid-century census and nothing comparable is available for earlier or later periods. Employment notices in the newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century, suggest that during that period there were still tutors and governesses in search of positions and families anxious to employ them.[57] The advertisements in the closing years of the century suggest however that a distinct difference existed between domestic education then and in earlier years. Full-time residential teachers were less in demand and were being replaced by visiting day tutors and governesses. Domestic teachers were being employed for instruction in areas which were not adequately catered for in the school curriculum such as modern languages, dancing or fencing. Most noticeable of all was the demand for teachers who were able to supplement and reinforce the work of the schools which their pupils normally attended. The tutor and governess as a 'coach' or 'crammer' had emerged as a recognisable figure. The future of the examination oriented school seemed to be assured and increasingly home based tuition was perceived as a preliminary or as a reinforcement to the 'real' world of education.

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TEACHER EDUCATION: THE COLLAPSE OF ITS ALL-IRELAND DIMENSIONS IN 1922

Sean Farren

Introduction

> If there is any field of administration in which more than any other, joint and harmonious action between North and South might be expected to produce good results in the direction of bringing the Irish people together it is in the educational field....[1]

These are curious sentiments when it is pointed out that they were penned as the concluding note to an internal memorandum within the new Ministry of Education in Belfast in March 1922. The author of these words was referring to a rather short-lived attempt to maintain some form of an all-Ireland educational link, particularly in the field of teacher education, succeeded in the immediate aftermath of partition.

Perhaps it is not surprising that educational administrators in the Northern ministry, bereft as the North was of any major educational institution apart from St Mary's College for female Catholic students, should have sought some form of cooperation with the South. The South, after all, had contained the centre of educational administration in pre-partition Ireland together with most of the teacher training facilities including all of those availed of by Protestant students.

Teachers for Northern Protestant schools had heretofore trained at Marlborough Street, a college under the auspices of the Commissioners of National Education, or at the Church of Ireland College in Kildare Place, both Dublin colleges. Male Catholic teachers for schools in the North had also trained in the South, mainly at St Patrick's, also in Dublin.

Desire for Cooperation

Some continuation of pre-partition arrangements, at least in the short term, must, therefore, have made a great deal of sense to officials in the new Northern Ministry. In early 1922 these officials were in the throes of establishing their administration while at the same time anticipating major reforms in the management and control of schools from the Lynn Committee (1921-22) which was examining proposals for future educational structures.[2]

A desire for cooperation not only in teacher education, but also in other areas of education, was being expressed within the government in Dublin at the same time. Correspondence between the two ministries of education in March and April of 1922,[3,4] bears this out and reveals that ministers on both sides of the border and their officials made several attempts to set up a joint conference to enable agreement to be reached on matters of mutual interest. That conference never took place.

It is difficult to state precisely why the conference did not take place. Most probably it didn't because the will to hold it dissolved in the face of developments, educational and otherwise, in this year of historic change for the whole country. In the South as the year advanced tension between those who supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and those who opposed it, increased to the point of civil war in May. Relationships with Northern Ireland had, therefore, to take second place to the demands of the military campaign which followed. Education was directly affected by the absence on active service of Finian Lynch, one of the two Southern ministers responsible for education.

Raising Barriers to Cooperation

In terms of North-South relationships the mutual suspicions and fears which had contributed to the wider political divisions in Ireland did not leave education unaffected. Indeed, long before partition, significant differences and emphases had emerged between educational interests North and South in Ireland. These differences had become very evident in the reception afforded the McPherson Bill in 1919-20 when Unionist politicians and the Protestant Churches gave their full support to the structural reforms it proposed while Nationalist politicians and the Roman Catholic Church vehemently opposed it.[5] Furthermore, the declared intention of Nationalist Ireland to seek an Ireland which in the words of Padraig Pearse would be "not free merely, but Gaelic as well" was an aim which Unionists could not have been expected to endorse for any educational reforms which would affect Northern Ireland. Immediate moves to introduce changes in school curricula in the South in order to effect this aim were among the measures which precipitated the collapse of education's all-Irish dimensions in 1922.

The curricular changes introduced following the Southern government's assumption of responsibility for education concerned the use of Irish in the curriculum of National schools [6] and, secondly, the manner in which the Intermediate examination papers for 1922 could be answered and would be assessed.[7] While not directly affecting teacher training, these initial changes were interpreted in Northern Ireland as signalling a new departure for education in the South, one which the Northern authorities were not willing to follow and one which also implied inevitable changes for the programmes in teacher training colleges.

Some indication of the intended changes in teacher education was conveyed to Lewis McQuibban when, on a visit to the office of the Board of Intermediate Education in Dublin, it was mentioned to him that the programme in the training colleges might be terminated earlier than usual in the summer term in order to allow students a whole month to study Irish. McQuibban commented in his report on the visit:

> If this proposal is persisted in it is not unlikely that we may be compelled to institute courses of training for teachers in the North sooner than we expected. [8]

At the INTO Congress at Easter Finian Lynch confirmed that this proposal would indeed go ahead.[9] Later, in June, the first intimations of programme changes in the training colleges emerged, changes which required that Irish history and Gaelic culture generally should receive an entirely new emphasis.[10] These, too, were not to find favour with the Northern authorities who regarded them as "unsuitable for teachers in schools in this area".[11]

As soon as he had become aware of the first of the innovations announced by the Southern education authorities, Lord Londonderry, the Minister of Education in Northern Ireland, expressed his opposition. Speaking at a meeting in Belfast, in February, about the regulations introduced by the Intermediate Examinations Board regarding the use of Irish in answering questions on papers other than Irish itself, he stated quite bluntly:

> ... as your Minister of Education I will not for one moment allow the use of the so-called Irish language in the Intermediate Examinations for Northern Ireland. [12]

Despite these reservations about the direction in which education seemed to be heading in the South, the Northern authorities continued to seek cooperation, particularly in the area of teacher training. The Northern Ministry proposed that the Easter examinations for entry to the training colleges be conducted by a joint examining board in order that Northern students could be officially sanctioned by their Ministry for attendance at Southern colleges. The Southern authorities refused to accept such an arrangement and the North felt obliged to conduct its own examinations. [13]

A critical situation arose, however, when the Catholic training colleges indicated that they would not accept students nominated by the Northern Ministry on the results of these examinations. Only three of the five Catholic colleges seem to have refused on the grounds that it would not be possible to provide a double programme, the Northern authorities not being likely to approve of one which would place, in their view, considerable emphasis on Irish.[14] De La Salle in Waterford refused on the grounds that it could only accept students sanctioned by the Dublin Ministry,[15] while St Mary's in Belfast simply stated that it would not "be prepared to accept Candidates from Northern Ireland on the nomination of the Ministry of Belfast".[16]

Only the Church of Ireland College replied to McQuibban's circular indicating that it was willing to cooperate in the training of students to be nominated by the Northern Ministry. An agreement to this effect was entered into between the Board of the College and representatives of the Ministry in April.[17]

The failure to achieve cooperation from the other colleges led Londonderry to contact Michael Collins requesting "reasonable cooperation between North and South in educational matters".[18]

In the South, Londonderry's February statement had been interpreted more for its implied insult to the Irish language than the concern it also expressed over a rather late change in the regulations governing examinations for which pupils had already entered. In his reply to Londonderry, dated 10 April 1922, Collins made this point saying that Londonderry's attitude towards Irish had made cooperation in arranging the Easter Examinations for entrance to teacher training "impossible", a curious accusation in view of the Southern authorities rejection of a joint board referred to above.[19]

Collins Supports Cooperation

Notwithstanding this criticism Collins' reply was positive to the request for cooperation. He proposed a North-South education conference to deal with a number of matters of mutual concern and suggested that it take place between Londonderry, his officials and Messrs. Lynch and Hayes from the Southern government. From his comments it is obvious that Collins was anxious to see the maximum cooperation possible achieved.

> The several matters mentioned in your letter, viz: Primary Teachers, Easter

> Examination for entrance to Training, Training Colleges, and in addition the question of Secondary schools could be profitably discussed. If the Education Ministers could come to an agreement I am sure that neither government would wish to place obstacles in the way.[20]

However, despite Collins' suggestion and the apparent willingness of both educational ministries to attend such a conference, all attempts to convene it failed. In one major respect the Dublin government may well have placed, from the North's perspective, a further serious obstacle in the way. This obstacle was Dublin's persistence with salary payments to teachers in some two hundred and seventy Northern Catholic National schools who, in a gesture of opposition to partition, had refused to accept the authority of the new Belfast ministry from the time of the official administrative handover in February 1922.[21]

Londonderry, not surprisingly took exception to this and ten days after receiving Collins' letter he was demanding from Finian Lynch an explanation of that situation.[22]

Londonderry failed, however, at this juncture to obtain satisfaction to these payments which continued to be made until the following October. Such failure fully moves encouraging cooperation with the ministry of a government which he perceived to be undermining his own ministry's authority over education in parts of his jurisdiction.

Belfast Goes It Alone

Hopes for any long-term cooperation were effectively dashed with the setting up of the Committee for the

Training of Teachers within the Ministry of Education in Belfast in May 1922, together with the decision shortly after this to establish a college under government auspices which would open in the following October.[23]

The establishment of a teacher training institution in Belfast had often been sought prior to this, mainly by sections of the Presbyterian community unhappy about their teachers being trained in Dublin. However, as long as Marlborough Street College continued to cater for students from the Northern counties, especially Presbyterians, this demand made no progress. But once it was rumoured in Dublin from the late Spring of 1922 that the government was considering the future of Marlborough Street, pressure for a college in Belfast mounted.[24]

Contributing to this pressure was the fact that in Dublin the supply of teachers was now, perhaps inevitably, being considered solely with respect to the needs of schools in the twenty-six counties. In this context since the existing colleges were producing a surplus there was a need to reduce the supply. Marlborough Street became an obvious target because of its close connections with schools in the North for which Dublin no longer had any responsibility. Closing it would achieve the desired cut-back in teacher supply. It would also be a move requiring little, or no adjustment to the supply of teachers from the other colleges.

Although rumours that Marlborough Street would close first appeared in May 1922, it was not until September that a final decision on closure was made.[25]

This delay in reaching a decision on the future of Marlborough Street can only have added to the failure to hold the North-South education conference, as well as to the unilateral decision of the Dublin authorities to introduce changes into the school and training college programmes which contained a new emphasis on Irish culture, and to the continuing payments to National school teachers in the North. All of these factors weakened the case for cooperation and inevitably strengthened the case of those in Northern Ireland who sought to develop a comprehensive educational infrastructure under Belfast's control which would include its own teacher training institutions.

The Final Collapse of North-South Cooperation

By June 1922 all efforts at maintaining substantial North-South links in teacher education had virtually vanished with the single exception of the agreement with the Church of Ireland College. Even that agreement was to prove rather short-lived, though it was not until later in the year that it became obvious just how short-lived it was to be.

In December 1922 advertisements were placed in newspapers North and South by the college inviting candidates to enter for the Easter examinations of 1923.[26] These advertisements mentioned that the course of training at the college had the approval of the Northern Ministry of Education. While it was true that the course had this approval, the Northern Ministry had already pointed out to the college that its agreement earlier in the year contained no commitment to an indefinite sanctioning of students from the North entering Kildare Place.[27] Following the placement of the advertisements the Northern Ministry wrote to the College saying that no further intake from the North would be sanctioned.[28]

Clearly taken aback, Dr. Kingsmill-Moore, Principal of Kildare Place, wrote expressing regret that the

> Agreement entered into with so much goodwill and such widespread approval, would be cancelled so soon ... there is no desire on our part to press for any definite number of candidates from the North, a number markedly smaller than that of the present session would keep up the continuity and promote the feelings of goodwill and good fellowship of which our country stands so sadly in need.[29]

However, the Northern Ministry had by this time decided that it could meet the demands for Protestant teachers from Stranmillis and saw no need to avail any longer of facilities in the South. Kingsmill-Moore's plea fell on deaf ears.

The Isolation of Northern Catholic Teacher Education

The situation in relation to Catholic male teachers in the North was not so easily resolved. St Mary's College eventually made its peace with the Ministry and formally entered into relationship with it from October 1923.[30] It, however, remained a female college which meant that no facilities for Catholic male students existed in the North. This situation faced both the Ministry in Belfast and the Catholic authorities themselves with a serious problem. The Southern Catholic male colleges had refused cooperation and the Catholic Church would not sanction the attendance of Catholic students at Stranmillis.

The solution preferred by the Church in the North was the same as that originally also preferred by the Northern Ministry, i.e. to maintain links with the Southern colleges. However, to achieve this required acknowledging that the educational changes introduced in the South had created difficulties, not just in educational terms, but in wider political terms as well.

Dr Hendley of St Malachy's Diocesan College, Belfast corresponded with both governments on a number of educational matters at this time, acting as a semi-official spokesperson for the Church. Writing in September 1922 to Eoin MacNeill, a Northerner himself and recently appointed Minister of Education, Dr Hendley stated, in terms which echo those quoted at the beginning of this paper, that:

> I quite understand that the S.I. Educational Ministry wish to create an Irish Ireland but does this mean the Ireland of the twenty-six Counties? ... A Southern trained teacher may go to England or Scotland but not to this Godforsaken Six County Area. That is surely partition with a vengeance! If ever "Ulster" is to become part and parcel of a unified Ireland such a spirit of exclusiveness is not going to make towards that end ... I absolutely fail to see why the Training Colleges of the country cannot be utilised as they were before.... 31

Despite such pleas cooperation was not forthcoming from the Catholic male colleges. Curiously this absence of cooperation was publicly blamed not on the Catholic colleges in the South, nor on the Southern government, but on the Northern Ministry which had vainly endeavoured to ensure some form of a continuing link with these same colleges. In his Lenten pastoral in March 1923 Bishop McRory of Down and Connor suggested that the Northern government might be in breach of the Government of Ireland Act (1920) because this 'failure' placed Catholics at a disadvantage compared to Protestants who had the new college at Stranmillis to attend.

> Before 1920 our teachers were trained in a manner that satisfied our religious beliefs; now no training is provided for our boys

> except such as the Bishops of Northern Ireland with his Eminence Cardinal Logue at their head have unanimously condemned.[32]

Later that same year in a statement issued by the Roman Catholic bishops of Northern Ireland this point was repeated when they pointed out that Protestants were still being trained in Kildare Place College, but no reciprocal arrangement had been made for Catholic male teachers in St Patrick's College.[33]

Neither the authorities in St Patrick's nor in the Dublin government responded to what could have been interpreted as a request from the Catholic Church in the North for some form of assistance from the South in the training of teachers for its schools. It was not until 1925 when the Northern Ministry entered into an agreement with the English Board of Education to allow the attendance of male Catholic students at St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, London that a satisfactory solution to the problem was found.[34]

Separate Development

By 1925 any possibility of North-South cooperation had long since vanished. Educationally, each part of Ireland, as in many other spheres, was busily forging its own separate destiny. The South was attempting to force a 'cultural revolution' by means of the education system, a revolution which was exclusive of the values, beliefs and attitudes of those in the North whom it claimed as fellow citizens and with whom it wished to unite. The North, free of the constraints which it felt Irish nationalism and Roman Catholicism imposed, was forcing the pace in other directions as it attempted to democratise its educational system and establish a system paralleling, as closely as possible, that which pertained in Britain.

The fleeting vision of the official, quoted at the beginning, in the Northern Ministry of Education had passed, perhaps to await revival in more propitious circumstances.

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DEVELOPING THE HISTORY CURRICULUM IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL 1922-1986

Anthony Motherway

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the process of curriculum development by examining significant features in the evolution of the history curriculum at primary level between 1922 and 1986. There are many definitions of the term "curriculum" ranging from the restricted, a "course of study", to the comprehensive, i.e. all the learning activities and experiences of the school. The working definition adopted for this paper conceives the curriculum as comprising four main elements where the crucial curricular decisions are made: aims, content, methodology and evaluation. Stenhouse has made an important distinction between two aspects of the curriculum: the intended and the implemented curriculum. The former is defined as intention, plan or prescription, in essence, a prespecification often embodied in official programmes and documents such as the 1971 curriculum.[1]

However, the practical reality of school curricula seldom conforms to the ideals of official pronouncements. What actually occurs in the classroom and its outcome is conveyed by the term "the implemented curriculum".

Curriculum development is defined for the purpose of this paper as

(i) the chronological development of the intended curriculum and

(ii) the attempt to transform intention into reality by bridging the gap between planning and reality.

THE PERIOD 1922-1971

The National Programme of Instruction, 1922, introduced history as part of the area "History and Geography". Pupils were to be introduced to history through stories and legends in third standard and through the biographies of outstanding Irish historical figures in fourth standard.

The formal presentation of the history of Ireland was commenced in fifth standard, where the designated course comprised a period of 1400 years, from the time of St Patrick in 432 A.D. to the Act of Union in 1801. The history of Ireland from the beginning of the 18th century to the founding of the state was designated for sixth and higher standards.

In 1926 a new programme of instruction, incorporating a number of changes in the history curriculum, was inaugerated. History was to be introduced in fifth standard. As a consequence of this, the general history of Ireland began with the early prehistoric legends. Because of this additional material the programme for fifth standard ended in 1609 rather than 1800. Local history was included though it was regarded primarily as a means of illustrating national history.

The revised programme of primary instruction issued in 1934 retained history as a compulsory subject for standards five and six. The history programme remained unchanged.

In 1962 a revised programme for history was announced. Modifications in content were introduced whereby a greater emphasis was placed on periods rather than on a general outline course.

During this period, 1922 to 1971, the programme for history may be characterised as a general history of Ireland covering an extensive range from the earliest times to the contemporary period, using local history to illustrate the course of national events and with occasional reference to the international dimensions of Irish history. Children were introduced to formal history lessons as part of the compulsory curriculum in fifth class.

The planned curriculum as outlined in the programme of instruction comprised brief statements of content. In the 1930s the Department of Education issued a short pamphlet entitled Notes for Teachers detailing the aims and recommending the appropriate methodologies.

The main aim of the history course in national schools was to cultivate a patriotic outlook in the children. The second major aim was that children "who pass through standard six will know the elements of their country's story from the earliest times to the present day."[2]

History in the Classroom 1922-1971

This account of the classroom reality of the history curriculum is based on the Annual Reports of the Department of Education from 1924-1925 to 1963-1964 which contain first hand accounts of the implementation of the curriculum in the classroom by experienced and trained observers, the primary school inspectors.[3] These reports provide a general, if limited, impression of classroom reality. They are also limited as only one section is allocated to the curriculum and this was diminished during the period. For example, in the combined annual reports published in 1927-1928 and 1928-1929 fifty-six pages were allocated to the curriculum and the work of the schools in contrast to fifteen pages for 1930-1931 and 1931-1932. Moreover until 1929 extensive extracts on individual subjects were included in the Annual Reports. Thereafter only brief general comments on selected subjects were incorporated; specific references to history, when included, were brief, a short paragraph or single sentence. And for the school year 1964-1965 they were replaced by statistical reports.

Nevertheless, the reports were intended to give an accurate picture of school life and the excerpts in the following section give an indication of the typical comments and concerns of the inspectors.

While the inspectors acknowledged that the children acquired some knowledge of basic historical facts they were very critical of children's historical understanding. One inspector commented: "The pupils know the answers to certain questions; when they are questioned on other questions which they have not prepared their luck runs out" [4]

The dominance of the textbook was a continual motif in the inspectors' comments. One inspector wrote:

> In the majority of schools, however, the subject suffers from the fact that the scope of the course is limited to the contents of meagre textbooks.[5]

Though oral narration and exposition was the officially recommended approach, many inspectors noted that the history lesson was often turned into a reading lesson:

> Too often the subject is taught as a reading lesson and the teacher doesn't add to this knowledge nor does he stimulate the interest in the pupils.[6]

Assessment, formal or informal, is an integral element of the curriculum. The kind of assessment employed reflects the balance of priorities in the curriculum and the underlying concepts and philosophy of education.

Between 1929 and 1943 history was one of five subjects included in an optional primary school certificate examination. While only 25 per cent of the eligible pupils sat the exam, it is instructive to analyse the 1929 primary school certificate examination paper in history, in order to illustrate the type of assessment in use during this period. [7]

While it cannot be established that the 1929 examination paper was typical, as papers for subsequent years cannot be located, nevertheless the concept of assessment which shaped the 1929 paper was typical of curricular thinking in Ireland throughout the period under consideration. The questions may be grouped as follows:

Category I: Questions requiring pupils to know and recall a single date. Example: When was the Statute of Kilkenny passed?

Category II: Questions requiring the pupils to know and recall a single historical fact. Example: How long did it (Grattan's Parliament) last?

Category III: Questions requiring pupils to know and recall information encompassing a group of facts. Example: What were its (the Statutes of Kilkenny) chief provisions?

Category IV: Open-ended questions. Example: Say what you know of the Act of Union.

It was possible for candidates to answer the compulsory four out of eleven questions by confining themselves exclusively to closed factual type questions, from categories one to three, as all questions carried equal marks. This emphasis on factual knowledge was reinforced by the scope of the questions which ranged over the course of Irish history from the sixth century to the parliament of the Irish Free State in the twentieth century.

The status of history in the curriculum was ambiguous. Officially elevated claims were made asserting the value of history. In theory it was allocated about forty hours in the school year; in practice it was often considerably less.

Throughout the period 1923-1971, the national school curriculum was dominated by an over-riding concern for the promotion of the Irish language and by a restricted concept of subject matter. The trend towards a narrow curriculum was accentuated in 1943 when the primary school certificate examination was made compulsory and confined to a written examination in three subjects Irish, English and Arithmetic. In this context the importance of taking into account the implemented curriculum can be highlighted. The planned programme comprised a minimum of seven subjects: Irish, English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Singing and Physical Education, as well as Needle Work for girls. However, the compulsory primary certificate combined with the underlying philosophy ensured that the emphasis in the classroom was on English, Arithmetic and especially Irish. Hence the range of subjects in the planned programme tends to obscure the reality of the narrow curriculum implemented in the schools and experienced by the majority of the pupils.

The range of the history programme was discerned as a major problem. In 1947 the I.N.T.O. identified the incompatibility between the extensive range of the course and the detailed knowledge expected of pupils. It recommended that the course should extend over three years, instead of two, and that less detailed knowledge should be expected of the pupils.[8] In 1954 the Report of the Council of Education acknowledged the problem of range in history but concluded it was unable to provide a solution.[9] The decisive constraint was that the majority of pupils did not attend post-primary school. Nevertheless, it suggested that the "major landmarks of Irish history" should be the focus of the course.[10] The Revised Programme of 1962, in line with this suggestion, recommended that the history course should be divided into periods. However, the syllabus outlined in the programme incorporates so many periods as to be indistinguishable from a general history of Ireland. An analysis of a typical textbook published in 1964, containing fifty-two chapters, suggests that this proposal had only a marginal impact on the most important classroom teaching resource.[11]

THE 1971 CURRICULUM

The 1971 curriculum introduced a new concept of history as an area of interest and activities rather than a subject. This emphasis on activities derived from the theory of learning which asserted that the child benefits as much from "the processes of exploration and discovery as from the actual information derived through these processes". History was no longer regarded as a "subject" but as a "whole range of interrelated activities which uses the historical as the binding factor". This integrated perspective on content was proposed because "the young child is not conscious of subject barriers". In this way it was hoped that the child would become "more personally involved in history".

The developmental stage of the child was invoked as a justification for abandoning the extensive chronological course - a hallmark of the traditional history course.[12]

Two new approaches, the line-of-development and patch study, were recommended. Both emphasise active investigation by the pupil on a detailed topic or period.

Local history was emphasised and the implications of a central role for local history were outlined:

> The importance of the local environment cannot be overstressed and it should hold a central place in the study of the historical. This implies not only the limited role and value of the traditional textbook with its generalised approach, but also the rejection of the idea of prescribing an identical course to be taught to all children irrespective of their varying backgrounds, interests and abilities. 13

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

Since its introduction the implementation of the 1971 curriculum has been regularly evaluated. These general surveys provide some insights on the history curriculum. In 1975 the Conference of Convent Primary Schools published the findings of an evaluation. In general the response both to the philosophy of the curriculum and to its implementation was positive.[14] In 1976 the I.N.T.O. reported that the vast majority of teachers claimed that the 1971 curriculum was being implemented from a "moderate" to a "very great degree". Specifically in the area of Social and Environmental Studies, which includes history, 20 per cent described their teaching as "great" and almost 70 per cent as "satisfactory".[15]

In a subsequent study it was found that "the new curriculum has had considerable impact on the practice of Irish primary schools" over the previous five years. It was also found that the idea that "school activities and experiences should reflect pupils' environment to a considerable extent" received the highest degree of support. It was observed specifically that history was "fairly strongly influenced by new curriculum approaches" and that it was one of six curricular areas where a high level of implementation was reported.[16]

These general studies, based on reported perceptions, provide only a partial picture based on very limited evidence. More extensive studies of specific areas of the curriculum provide the detail essential for a more reliable picture of classroom practice.

A study conducted by the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education in May 1981 focussed on the Social and Environmental aspect of the curriculum. In a summary of the report issued in May 1987 it was concluded that

> The teaching of history ... in many middle and senior classes bears little relationship to the pupils' own environment. [17]

In addition it was stated that fieldwork and visual aids were not an important dimension of the teaching in the social and environmental area.

Though "insufficient use is made of the class/school library" it was concluded that "Well-organised projects are a fairly regular feature of pupils' work in primary schools."[18] In its major conclusion the Report stated that:

> Textbooks were used as the major source for lesson planning and they tended to dominate class practice.[19]

Recent studies on current practice in history teaching have also established this point.[20] The predominant place of the history textbook in the classroom during the 1970s contravenes the planned curriculum outlined in 1971.

Moreover the results of a recent study have identified a readability problem in the four history textbooks used by the vast majority of children in sixth class since the mid-1970s. The study found that the majority of children in sixth standard were reading the history texts at "frustration level and ... considerably below what is commonly accepted as minimum satisfactory comprehension level". [21] The author outlined the consequences for pupil learning:

> The existence of such a serious problem in relation to one of the commonly used aids by children in the learning of history implies a deterioration, not only in the process of learning history, but also in the amount of enjoyment experienced by children during the process. This in turn implies the development of a negative attitude towards history as a subject.[22]

The publication of new series of history textbooks, in accordance with the guidelines for publishers issued by the Department of Education in 1980, may remedy this problem.

In general, therefore, the period since the introduction of the 1971 curriculum was one of moderate activity and change. New series of textbooks were published and research studies which help to provide a picture of classroom practice were conducted. Conversely, many of the aims of the 1971 curriculum remain, for most schools, mere aspirations. The textbook continues to dominate classroom life and local history continues as a marginal activity.

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ALFRED O'RAHILLY: PATHFINDER IN ADULT EDUCATION

Micheál W. Ó Murchú

This paper chronicles and assesses the pioneering role of Alfred O'Rahilly in the sphere of adult education in University College Cork, (UCC). The context in which O'Rahilly and his associates forged links with trade union leaders and workers is set out, culminating in the introduction of the two-year UCC Diploma in Social and Economic Science for them in 1946. His clash with certain sections of the trade union movement nationally is also considered. From the enthusiastic beginnings in Cork city, the "Workers' Course" was extended to other urban centres in Munster and provided the educational model from which UCC generated several other Diploma courses for specific vocational groups throughout the province in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The growth and development of these adult education courses are analysed. The paper concludes with an appraisal of the adult education programmes provided by UCC and associated agencies during the years of O'Rahilly's presidency. He identified a winning formula in 1946, a formula which continues to be the fulcrum of the UCC Department of Adult Education in the late 1980s.

The inauguration of the UCC Diploma Course in Social and Economic Science in 1946 during the initial years of Alfred O'Rahilly's Presidency should not be viewed as an isolated event. In fact, over a thirty year span which had one extended interval of quiescence, O'Rahilly and some of his colleagues at UCC worked in close cooperation with trade union leaders and workers in Cork city, providing them with a university input into workers' education, and 1946 should be seen as marking the culmination of a long-standing commitment by O'Rahilly to the education of trade unionists. Apart from increasing the meagre stock of the College library, O'Rahilly regarded the adult education programme initiated in 1946 and its subsequent growth and development as his major contribution to UCC.[1]

Extending the Usefulness of UCC

His promotion in the College was rapid, from Assistant Lecturer in Mathematics in 1914 to the Chair of Mathematical Physics in 1916 (the professor was killed in action in World War I), and to College Registrar in 1920. Prior to O'Rahilly joining the College staff in 1914 some successes had been achieved in the field of adult education. The College, for example, had enunciated its policy in terms of "extending the usefulness of the College to districts and classes so far little brought into contact with it".[2] Munster constituted the territorial imperative. The earliest reference to the provision of adult education under the legislative framework of the National University of Ireland (1908) encountered so far is a booklet entitled University Extension Lectures issued by the Governing Body of UCC in 1910.[3] Although this particular Munster-based initiative met with no kind of response,[4] the Governing Body decision to approve a series of short courses in agriculture, commerce and engineering to be given in the College in 1911-12 resulted in success, attracting adult participants to the two-week courses. College policy vis-a-vis adult education expressed discriminatory favouritism toward those classes hitherto unavailing themselves of the College courses.

Shortly after his appointment to UCC O'Rahilly joined forces with Professor Smiddy, and together with the cooperation and support of the leader of the Labour Party, James Connolly, they succeeded in inaugurating the "University Extension Movement" under the aegis of the newly-formed University Labour Education Committee in the College.[5] The objective was sharply focused, clearly identified and aimed at a definite geographical area; it was "especially to make available in some small way, the benefits of University education to the working classes of Cork".[6]

The "University Extension Movement" was promoted by means of economic conferences, lectures, tutorial classes, a special library and the publication of booklets on topics germane to the workers. During the first year of its operation in 1916 President Windle reported to the Governing Body that the Corporation of the City of Cork had begun to pay an annual contribution of £ 150.00 to the College "for the purpose of promoting the higher education of the working men of the City". [7] This is the earliest known reference to a local authority exercising its prerogative to grant-aid a university college for the specific purpose of adult education under the Financial Provision of Clause 10 (2) of the Irish Universities Act, 1908. By 1920 this extension initiative had petered out and it may well be that the political situation in the country at that time contributed to its demise. Both O'Rahilly and Smiddy were caught up in the national struggle as a result of which O'Rahilly was incarcerated for a period.

Eleven years were to elapse before the next phase of the extension movement evolved. With the assistance of Professor Busteed, who had succeeded Professor Smiddy, and with the co-operation of a new committee O'Rahilly re-activated a programme of lectures and tutorial classes combined with study circles for workers in 1930. Over the years this arrangement brought many workers in the city into contact with the College.

The emphasis in the revised extension movement was decidedly Catholic. Economic and social principles, drawing particularly on paper encyclicals and with due concern for their practical application and implications, formed the main focus of the public lectures and study groups. Speaking at the initial public lecture O'Rahilly stressed both the Catholic and nationalist bias of the scheme. He would take a stand on two things - his Catholicism and his Irishness. In his view the labour movement in Ireland was insufficiently nationalist and Catholic.[8] The revived extension movement was framed to ensure that the Catholic and nationalist principles and ethos of the period would dominate the content of the lectures, classes and reading materials. In following through this particular emphasis the organising committee, with representatives from the Cork Workers' Council which was affiliated to the Irish Trade Union Congress, appointed a majority of Catholic priests as lecturers.[9]

There was a good response to the revised adult education scheme, for example, in 1930-31 as many as fifty trade unionists attended the twice-weekly evening session. In the mid-1930s a course on politics and sociology was organised at the request of the adult students and this lead to greater attention being given to those subject areas within the scheme. But gradually, however, the system was perceived to be inadequate by O'Rahilly because he held the view that workers in a post-war environment needed a wider, more basic and systematic training than could be obtained by spasmodic attendance at lectures and tutorial classes.[10] Shortly after being appointed President of the College in 1944, O'Rahilly set in motion a process which culminated in the introduction of the

Diploma Course in Social and Economic Science for Workers in 1946. O'Rahilly was in a key position to become an education pathfinder for the trade union movement in the mid-1940s. He had displayed an excellent working relationship with trade union leaders and workers for three decades. Giving practical expression to this relationship he championed their cause through educational and other means. Any new educational initiative engendered by him could be expected to command the active support of the unions. As no other third level institution was engaged in providing educational opportunities for Irish workers in the early 1940s, his position was additionally buttressed. O'Rahilly's central emphasis on the importance of a Catholic ideology permeating the core content of the workers' education courses was, however, to bring him in time into fundamental conflict with a section of the trade union movement nationally who in turn proceeded to establish their own separate College for workers.

Prevailing Ethos of the Period

Reference has been made previously en passant to the predominant ethos of the period and it is now necessary to explore it here at some length so that the stance adopted by O'Rahilly may be viewed in a wider, national setting. Economically, socially and culturally the achievements of independence ushered in several decades of national and local endeavours intended to effect a state of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, reminiscent in part of the philosophy of Douglas Hyde, Horace Plunkett and their associates toward the end of the 19th century.[11] The deeply embedded desire and will to attain a new independent self-identity within a heightened national consciousness was paramount. By providing educational opportunities for Irish workers O'Rahilly was, in fact, contributing to that sense of striving for self-reliance and sufficiency.

Catholicism played a critical role in fashioning the attitudes and practices of independent Ireland and by the late 1940s the most obvious feature of Irish Catholicism was its increasing 'integralism'; a more totally Catholic state, expressing a growing commitment to Catholic social teaching, was being brought about through a variety of forces. Whyte cites examples of social insurance, legal adoption and the mother and child scheme in which the prevailing ethos of Irish Catholicism exerted influence on government plans in those areas.[12]

Catholic teaching, particularly Quadragesimo Anno, the encyclical of Pope Pius XI, signalled the beginning of a Catholic social movement in the country in 1931. Among other ideas it enunciated the importance of harmony between different social groups as the Christian solution to the conflicting ideologies of the class war. The encyclical recommended the formation of 'vocational groups', or 'corporations' through which collaboration could lead to workers and employers pursuing their common interest. As a corrective measure to the undue power and influence of the state the encyclical proposed the principle of subsidiarity.[13]

As might well be expected the papal plea for 'vocationalism' did not go unheeded in Ireland. Among several measures taken a Commission on Vocational Organisation was established in 1938 and included in its membership O'Rahilly, Fr. John Hayes, founder of Muintir na Tire, and Fr. E.J. Coyle, S.J., a writer on social and economic matters, leader of the cooperative movement and later appointed Director of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies at University College Dublin. For our purpose the most relevant of the Commission's recommendations to be implemented was the enactment of the Industrial Relations Act 1946 which gave rise to the foundation of the Labour

Court.[14] In the new structure and mechanism for industrial conciliation workers would need ot have the knowledge and skills to use the system with confidence. This development acted as an incentive, encouraging O'Rahilly and the trade unions in Cork to introduce the Diploma Course for workers in 1946.

O'Rahilly was one of the most prolific writers and articulate speakers in the vanguard of the Catholic social movement in Ireland. And while the inauguration of the Diploma Course for workers institutionalised the educational aspirations of the trade unions in the city it simultaneously afforded O'Rahilly a framework within which he could find expression for his commitment to the education of the workers as well as his advocacy of Catholic social principles and teaching. Whyte has commented on the decades of the 1930s and 1940s as being more vigorous than ever in re-constructing Ireland according to the principles of Quadragesimo Anno.[15] Furthermore, he instances Muintir na Tire and the Catholic Societies Vocational Organisation Conference as fuelling the Catholic social movement in the country. in the same context Whyte also notes that UCC began a series of courses for trade unionists on Catholic social teaching in 1946 as if that were the sole subject matter of the course. Consistent with O'Rahilly's philosophy of workers' education the Catholic dimension constituted a major emphasis in the course but Whyte's assertion fails to reflect fully the broad subject range of the Diploma course to which we shall return shortly.

In Conflict with the ITUC

O'Rahilly's conflict with the trade union movement did not impinge adversely on the emerging Diploma course for workers at UCC; it derived from the contrasting ideological positions adopted by O'Rahilly and the Irish

Trade Union Congress (ITUC), one of the two national congress of unions operating at the time. Although supportive of O'Rahilly in the post-1930 initiative at UCC, the ITUC believed that the trade unions should be organising the courses themselves.[16] Increasingly, the ITUC became more oriented toward the British trade union movement, and they began to hold the view that the course content of workers' education should be determined by the trade unions and workers. Traditionally, this was the practice of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) whose British branch the ITUC consulted about organising a branch in Dublin.

Following overtures to Trinity College and University College Dublin with a view to establishing a WEA arrangement, then and still common in several countries such as Britain, Denmark and Sweden - Northern Ireland had its WEA branch since 1907 - the ITUC proceeded to explore the proposal of setting up a Joint University-WEA Committee in Dublin. It was reported that Trinity College did not raise any objections but University College Dublin was unable to reach agreement and as a consequence the proposal was dropped.[17]

What did emerge from the ITUC discussions was the foundation of the People's College Adult Education Association in Dublin in 1948. The People's College quickly occupied centre stage in the ITUC-O'Rahilly ideological clash over what constituted worker's education and specifically the integral role Catholic social teaching should play according to O'Rahilly in courses for workers. O'Rahilly was very concerned too about the stated undenominational nature of the College, reflecting the status ascribed to the ITUC itself. He used his regular contributions to the Catholic newspaper, The Standard, to denounce the newly established People's

College. A compromise, if it may be so described, was reached by the excision of 'undenominational' and its substitution by 'inter-denominational' as a term to characterise the People's College.[18] Two hundred people joined the College's Adult Education Association in 1948 and evening courses initially offered on a limited basis were later expanded over a wide range of subjects which today attract in excess of two thousand adult students.[19]

The ITUC-O'Rahilly conflict was played out on the national scene in an era dominated by a strong Catholic ethos and orthodoxy, but it does not seem to have affected adversely the fledgling Diploma course for workers at UCC to which we now return.

Inauguration of the UCC Diploma for Workers

The Diploma in Social and Economic Science was a two-year part-time course agreed by the University, the City of Cork VEC and the trade unions in the city. It was specially designed to prepare the trade union participants for social and political responsibilities in their own organisations and communities. The lecture programme required attendance on two nights in the School of Commerce and one afternoon in the College, in all 7 hours' lectures per week. Sociology, Economics, Accounting, Secretarial and Business Practice as well as Modern Social Organisation formed the content areas of the programme.[20]

From the initial fifty applicants thirty-four were selected to take the inaugural course, approximately 50 per cent of them having the benefit of primary education only. Twenty-four workers completed the course in 1948; three gaining first class honours while an additional five were awarded second class honours. O'Rahilly regarded this experimental course as a resounding success and addressing the Conferring Ceremony in June 1948 proclaimed:

> La ana-thachtach e seo i stair an Cholaiste Cead bliain o shin a hosclaiodh e agus is e seo an chead uair gur leigheadh do lucht oibre Chorcai freastal go hiomlan ar chursai annso. Ta orm traslu leis na hoibrithe sin a chaith dha bhliain ag staidear insan gColaiste agus insan Scoil Trachtala. Morchuis onora dhom agus pribhleid, an teastas do bhronna orra indiu. Ta suil agam go leanfaidh na sluaite eile a rian. Ta an dorus oscailt' anois. (sic.) [21]
>
> This is a very important day in the history of the College. It marks the first occasion since the establishment of the College one hundred years ago that workers were allowed to attend a complete course here. I want to congratulate the workers who have completed two years' study in the College and the School of Commerce. I consider it a great honour and privilege to aware this diploma to them today. I hope that many others will follow in their example. The door is open now. (Translated by writer).

UCC doors were now open indeed and would be further opened to additional vocational groups within a couple of years. The seven-point criteria on which the selection of participants was based included a reference to the workers' place of employment.[22] If the weekly half-day did not fall on Wednesday when the workers attended lectures in the College, the employers were requested to allow the half-day free without either loss of pay or insisting on additional work. This measure was negotiated with the Cork Chambers of Commerce and represents the provision of paid educational leave in practice. As an enabling instrument it constituted a major concession for workers, was ahead of its time and was socially and educationally progressive. The Irish

Congress of Trade Unions did not succeed in negotiating paid release on full pay for shop stewards attending Congress courses until 1970. And it was four years later before the International Labour Organisation adopted its convention on paid educational leave which Ireland subsequently agreed in principle.[23]

A perusal of the examination papers dealing with Sociology in the Diploma course testify to the important role accorded Catholic social teaching. Questions 3 and 4 in the Christmas Test 1947, for example, focused on the following in the Sociology Paper:

'3. a. By what arguments did St. Thomas defend Private Property?
    b. How must those arguments be supplemented today?
4. Pius XI said that the Principle of subsidiarity was 'a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable'. Explain and defend the Principle.' [24]

These examination questions represented on that occasion 50 per cent of the questions on the Sociology paper.

Diploma Courses Extended to Munster

Eager and enthusiastic from their Conferring Ceremony, the 1948 Diplomates requested some form of continuous and systematic study and the College responded quickly by providing a weekly seminar in Sociology which would examine the history, structure, law and future of trade unionism. At that time also the College introduced a pre-Diploma course in English for workers intending to apply for admission to the Diploma course so that they could be helped to improve their facility in the language. O'Rahilly personally hastened the extension of the Diploma course for workers beyond Cork city by positively responding to invitations to address the VEC

Committee and local Workers' Councils in Limerick and Waterford cities. In both instances the Cork Diploma model was adopted and the Workers' Course as it was then called got underway there in 1948. Lectures were provided by the VECs, the College and by the appropriate nominees of the Catholic hierarchy who delivered the Sociology lectures. This latter measure, as we have noted, was introduced in the 1930s at UCC and it helped to ensure that O'Rahilly's commitment to advancing Catholic social teaching was in trustworthy and reliable hands, from his perspective.

Table 1 shows the response to the Diploma Course in 1948.[25]

TABLE 1: Workers' Response to Course

Centre	Number of Applicants	Number Accepted	Number of Unions
Cork	56	35	22
Limerick	56	35	14
Waterford	58	35	22

To facilitate the extension of the Workers' Course into Munster a full-time Organising Secretary, Padraig Parfrey, was appointed by UCC. At this time also the College received its first annual state grant of £ 1,700 in 1949 to extend the College's adult education service. During 1950 the Governing Body of the College formed an Adult Education Committee to administer on its behalf the rapidly expanding scheme; O'Rahilly, however, personally directed the scheme from its inception until his retirement.[26]

The organisational network initiated by UCC consisted of the VECs, the Government Departments of Agriculture and Education, County Committees of

Agriculture, County Library Authorities and national organisations such as Bantracht na Tuaithe, Macra na Feirme and Muintir na Tire. By means of this network three new Diploma courses were introduced for specific vocational groups in the early 1950s. These courses were aimed at the populations and requirements of small towns and rural areas in Munster where an insufficient number of trade union members would not justify the Workers' Course. In 1950 a Diploma in Rural and Social Science, designed especially for farmers and farm workers, was inaugurated and preference in allocating places was given to members of rural organisations. Their programme of study consisted of Rural Economics and Farm Accounts, Rural Science, Sociology, Metalwork and Farm Engineering, Woodwork and Farmbuilding. By 1953 courses leading to the Diploma in Rural and Social Science had been organised in Macroom, Dungarvan, Newcastlewest, Clonakilty, Cahir and Hospital.[27]

For adults interested in social problems the Diploma in Social Study was established in 1950 also and again by 1953 this two-year part-time course had been held in Fermoy, Rath Luirc, Listowel and Cork.[28] What was happening, in fact was that the College was perceiving a demand for adult education from vocational groups other than trade unionists and it entered into collaborative arrangements with the existing organisations and was able to respond professionally and swiftly to the growing demand for adult education. Con Murphy, Organising Secretary, played a central role in bringing the UCC Course in Rural and Social Science to rural towns and their Munster hinterlands.

The third of the New Diploma courses - the Diploma in Social and Home Science - was designed in 1952 for women working on the land. Participants studied

Sociology, Rural Knowledge as well as having instruction in various home crafts provided by the local VEC. In addition, occasional summer courses based in the College were provided for executive members of leading rural organisations.[29] The College also supplied specialist lectures in public speaking and debating for the farmer groups with financial assistance from the Shaw Trust and Foras Eireann.

Table 2 provides information on the UCC Diploma Courses over a seven year span.[30]

TABLE 2: Overview of UCC Diploma Courses from 1946 to 1952

Type of Course	Number of Centres	Number of Groups	Number of Diplomates
Workers	7	11	210
Urban	4	4	70
Farmers	6	6	100
Women	1	1	20
Total	18	22	400

A total of 18 centres, accommodating 22 groups and yielding 400 diplomates, add up to a considerable achievement especially when one takes into consideration the level of organisation, co-ordination and delivery of services to centres literally scattered across the landscape of the province. O'Rahilly was acknowledged as the principal architect of this development, unprecedented in Ireland, and appreciation of his work emanated from a variety of sources including the Minister for Education and the trade union movement.[31]

Achievements in Adult Education during O'Rahilly's Presidency

During the eleven years of O'Rahilly's presidency of UCC, adult education moved swiftly up the College agenda, attaining solid successes on the way. The following characterise the innovative aspects of the UCC adult education programme:

- four new Diploma courses for specific vocational groups were inaugurated and available throughout Munster;
- pre- and post-Diploma courses were also instituted;
- an enduring collaborative framework was called into operation by the College and ranged across statutory and voluntary organisations;
- some participants in the Diploma courses, notably members of trade unions, availed themselves of paid educational leave negotiated by the College with the Cork Chambers of Commerce;
- national support and recognition of the Diploma courses was marked by payment of an annual grant to the College by the Government Department of Education;
- the Local Authorities took advantage of the provision in the Irish Universities Act, 1908, and made an annual grant toward the costs of Diploma Courses in Centres under their jurisdiction;
- although an Adult Education Committee was appointed in the College, in his capacity as President, O'Rahilly directed the College adult education programme;
- the College became a resource centre for Munster through its collection of filmstrips, textbooks and booklets and it also set up an information and advisory service for rural-based groups interested in home crafts; and
- during the 1949-50 academic year the University Colleges in Dublin and Galway adopted the UCC Model of Diploma course for workers.[32]

O'Rahilly's role in developing the adult education programmes in UCC has been recognised as the key to its success. He exploited fully the Office of the Presidency in promoting the adult education scheme in Munster and he so committed the College to the field that one of the first activities of his successor, Henry St. J. Atkins, was to visit all the Centres where the Diploma courses were in progress. Atkins pledged the fullest cooperation of the College in continuing the excellent work begun by his predecessor.[33] Perhaps one of the most appropriate ways to exemplify this recognition is to quote from Organising Secretary Parfrey who worked closely with O'Rahilly in the initial years of the inaugural Diploma course:

> No one who has any intimate connection with the Course and its development from the very outset can question the need for paying special tribute to the man to whom, above all others, the success of the Course is due. Professor Alfred O'Rahilly has devoted a great deal of his valuable time and great talents to the promotion of adult education, particularly for the workers. Without his personal and professional prestige, his unflagging interest, his apparently limitless knowledge, initiation and drive, the writer would not have had the subject of this Paper as material for his lecture. In short, but for him there would have been no Course.[34]

Admittedly, Parfrey was speaking as an employee of UCC, eulogising the President on the basis of his experience as the Organising Secretary of the Workers' Diploma Course. Weighing up the achievements of O'Rahilly and his associates along with the solid foundation they laid, we must acknowledge Parfrey's assessment. O'Rahilly was a pathfinder in adult education in Ireland whose explorations and vision were given free rein in UCC and they also signalled the extra-mural path for the other university colleges in the country.

While the UCC initiative was useful, important and pioneering in terms of opening up the College Diplomas to vocational groups who would not normally have access to the university, it also had embedded within it an unintended structural weakness. The restriction of the role of the Adult Education Committee and later of the UCC Department of Adult Education to essentially organisational and administrative functions curtailed the real potential of the College in other legitimate and needed areas of adult education development. The College staff who lecture in the Diploma courses are employed in other Departments of the College.

Had the O'Rahilly initiative been expanded to include research and teaching staff as an integral part of the Department of Adult Education then the College contribution to the field of adult education theory and practice would have been enhanced and so too in all probability would the role of the Boards of Extra-Mural Studies in University College Dublin and Galway who adopted the UCC Model. It must be concluded, nonetheless, that the contribution of O'Rahilly to university adult education in Ireland was very considerable.

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SOVIET PEDAGOGICAL THEORY AND METHODOLOGY: 1917-1980

Dennis Hainsworth

Among Soviet educationalists there is a fresh interest in the historical development of Soviet pedagogical studies ("pedagogics") from the origin of their state. Since the secondary education reforms of 1984 they are encouraged to think and act in a new style without forgetting the basics of their pedagogical legacy. The January (1987) issue of Sovietskaya Pedagogika, in its editorial leader-article, remarks that the "taste" for sound theory only comes with the mastery of ideological-educational values formulated over generations. Some concrete measures have already been taken to help teachers achieve a more comprehensive grasp of Soviet pedagogics in the making: a council of experts has been set up; on the drawing board is a new textbook on pre- and post-revolutionary pedagogics; some important research is to be released; new archival material and reprinted extracts of significant educational works from the 1920s and 1930s will also appear for the Revolution's seventieth anniversary.[1]

In this paper we would highlight some issues and persons that have figured prominently in the formation of Soviet pedagogical theory and methodology over the years.

Lenin - The Big Three -The Classics

Marxist-Leninist philosophy views education primarily as a social phenomenon and a historical force. It is stamped by the class relationships that characterize any given society at any given historical moment. In a pyramidical society it is either a crass or subtle tool for reinforcing the hegemony of the ruling caste. To the servant classes is vouchsafed the limited training necessary to perform the functions calculated to perpetuate the system. Conversely, they are prevented from receiving the liberating "all-round and balanced development" that can only come to mind-widening education as distinct from a mere training. Such education is only possible when society is transformed by the victory of the socialist revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of a class-less society. However, even in the new order education remains the tool of social engineering; it is the conductor of communist thought and an effective co-agent of socio-economic transformation. Totally repudiated is the idea that school can or should be ideologically neutral. Obviously, the political victory of such a vision in the October Revolution could not but call for a radical review of pre-existent educational theories and methodologies.

The educational goals of the new Soviet State found their first formulation in a programme of resolutions issued by the Seventh Party Congress in March 1919. They were throughout an authentic, if incomplete, reflection of Lenin's ideas on the subject. Some other of his personal convictions must also be mentioned since they convey both his high esteem for education as well as his prudence:

(1) Real education creates an organic bond between the macrocosmic transformation of society and the microcosmic liberation of the individual.

(2) Crucial for the whole future of the Soviet pedagogics (and probably for the Soviet State itself) was his teaching on the true nature of the cultural revolution and the proper communist dialectical attitude to the

spiritual legacy of the pre-revolutionary past: whatever is good in history can lend itself to the construction of a just and healthy socialism; as such it belongs to communism as the perfect stage of socio-historical development and must therefore be subsumed, not crushed, by the Revolution. Lenin was a revolutionary, not an anarchist or iconoclast; he was single-minded, not narrow-minded. He enjoyed classical music and the arts and took personal interest in their preservation.[2] Having lived so long abroad, he differentiated between a mere "bourgeois culture" and the "culture of a bourgeois society" which can also contribute to the education of the working class in any nation.

(3) He sincerely believed in the institutional school. Because of schooling his father was able to struggle to the top where, as Director of State Schools in Simbirsk he was able to spread his liberal ideas;[3] his revolutionary wife was a dedicated teacher in the area of adult and workers' education;[4] he acquitted himself brilliantly in his law examinations at St. Petersburg University and immediately set out to act as counsel for the defence on behalf of peasants in a district court.[5] Knowledge was power, and school was needed for knowledge. The school was also an important transmitter of mankind's material and spiritual culture.

(4) Though believing in a social equality, he rejected as unrealistic an equality of physical and spiritual talents of single individuals.

(5) He held that human consciousness had an active characteristic: it not only "took in" reality (perception); it "reached out" to change it (ideological engagement). Thus he lays an epistemological basis for the Marxist thesis that the school has its role to play in the class struggle.[6] Even today, one of the stated objectives for the last two years of the secondary school is that the students not only understand the social

damage done by, e.g., religion, superstition and prejudices; they are expected to be challenging towards any manifestation of bourgeois ideology.[7]

After Lenin, three others play a key role in the formulation of earliest pedagogical theory and methodology: Krupskaya, Lunacharsky and Pokrovsky. Krupskaya was Lenin's hard-working wife, promoter of his thoughts on education until 1939 and one of the architects of the educational policy of the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) until the early 1930s. She was often the first to sound the alarm on any sort of exaggeration in pedagogical thought and practice. At the same time she was quick to identify positive elements even in what she deemed an unorthodox tendency and warned the rigidly orthodox about the harmful excess of zeal. Lunacharsky was the first Commissar of Education (until 1929) and received Lenin's support on all strictly educational matters. [8] This is certainly due to his enthusiasm without fanaticism in educational matters and to his conviction as well that institutional education is of paramount value to individual and society. He was learned with a philosophical bent and personally artistic. His tolerant handling of those with unorthodox views won him the disapproval of some Party members. In contrast, his deputy Pokrovsky, the historian, was a natural academic politician who shared Lunacharsky's educational theories but not his conciliatory bonhomie. [9] He was the tough practical fist in Lunacharsky's velvet glove. The Big Three worked as an effective team in the implementation of Lenin's pedagogical vision in a period of considerable confusion.

Krupskaya was the first to study the history and theory of pedagogics from the dialectical materialist perspective and published her research in her prerevolutionary People's Education and Democracy (1915). She developed the viewpoint of the founders of scientific communism on education understood as "upbringing"[10] and as "institutional formation"; chartered the proper long range course for socialist educators and the school; analysed the notions of labour-oriented work and polytechnical formation in the Marxist context of class struggle. Lunacharsky contributed to the methodology of pedagogics and was among the first to raise questions about the employment of sociological methods of research in the area of popular education. He also had some original contributions to the notions of the all-round developed man and his formation: in that process both aesthetic "upbringing" (vospitanie) and aesthetic "formation" (obrazovanie) have a role to play (as playwright and critic he insisted on the distinction).[11] Pokrovsky's strength was on a different plane; he produced concrete plans for implementing the principles and methods suggested by Marxist teaching on education. In particular, he planned the application of programmes that issued from the scientific-pedagogical section of the State Academic Council (GUS) of the Narkompros, which was headed by Krupskaya from 1921-1932. He emphasized Lenin's principle of the unity of economics, politics and culture which he worked into curriculum content. His ideas on the system of popular education became widespread in the second half of the 1920s.[12]

The Soviet pedagogical "classics" is a term designating the writings of outstanding and approved educational thinkers such as Blonsky, Pinkevich, Shatsky, Makarenko and, after the War, Sukhomlinsky.

In the 1920s the educator and psychologist Blonsky was writing about Marxism as furnishing a method for resolving pedagogical problems. As a Marxist he admitted that educational goals and content depend on society's politico-economic structure, but as a scientist he gave partial support for a time to the so-called "biogenetical" position later criticized by the Party. He nevertheless also acknowledged that educational methodologies must always consider the important impact of social conditions on biological heredity. All-round development resulted from productive work, physical education, intellectual and polytechnical formation. In his *Soviet Pedagogics over Ten Years (1917-1927)* Pinkevich, like Blonsky, maintained that educational problems brought into focus by pre-revolutionary thinkers could only find a definitive solution on the basis of Marxist methodology. Also like Blonsky and some others, he at fist looked upon pedagogics as a mere application of socio-biological science; later he repudiated this position and clearly distinguished pedagogics from what he termed "social studies". Under Krupskaya's influence he criticised Western European and American "bourgeois" theoreticians like Dewey, Lay (*Die Tatschule*) and Kerschensteiner (*Die Arbeiterschule*) whose ideas he considered of a reactionary character and as ultimately promoting a class ascendency policy.[13] Curiously, these same anti-authoritarian, non-scholastic and child-centred authors had once figured on an earlier recommended bibliography published by Lunacharsky and the Petrograd branch of Narkompros in 1918.[14]

The innovator Shatsky had been exposed to the ideas of the great Leo Tolstoy on the role and importance of work. He went on to elaborate his own ideas on the child's collective, polytechnical training and labour-oriented education, teaching methods and the social dimension of pedagogics. Shatsky, like Makarenko and Sukhomlinsky after him, was a practicing educator as well as theoretician, a combination that seems to be particularly respected in Soviet pedagogical tradition. Makarenko (1888-1939) thought about the relationship between goals and means in education and the need for coalescence between internal and external stimuli for the moulding of child and his collective. For him, there was no one means of education that could be universally or exclusively valid; success always depends on a system of interrelated measures reflecting a comprehensive and forward-looking strategy involving educator and his colleagues in the pedagogical collective. His methodological conclusions derived from the Marxist notion of dialectic in the sense that material reality is seen to be essentially self-transforming and forwardly mobile. Because of the laws of dynamics irrespressibly at work in the children's collective, the educator's task must be the introduction of constant creative change into the total process of pedagogical means. For this reason he propounded his system of perspectives (what he called "the joys of tomorrow") that would serve as developmental stimuli and directives.[15]

In the post-war (and mostly in the post-Stalinist) years of the 50's and 60's, Sukhomlinsky (1918-1970) came to the fore. While claiming to follow in the tradition of Krupskaya, Lunacharsky, Shatsky and Makarenko, he insisted that a slavish acceptance of everything the pioneers said is a disservice to them and to the whole scientific approach to methodology and theory that they sought to foster.[16] As practitioner and theoretician he studies over many years the whole range of relationships between individual pupil and student collective. They are a mutually constitutive phenomenon totally dependent on one another for their very survival, progress and happiness. Collective and individual are the reciprocating centrifugal and centripetal forces constantly at work refuelling and reinforcing one another.[17] In answer to the charge that Soviet educational theory sets out to dissolve the child's personal identity into the collective, its apologist can always point to the humanity, delicacy and child-centredness of this man who constantly says such things as: "Somewhere in the innermost recesses of each child's heart there is a cord tuned at its own proper pitch. It vibrates when it wills, and before his heart can respond to my word, my word must also be in syncopation with that cord." [18] Sukhomlinsky's contribution to pedagogical methodology is his vision of the educational process as a synthesis of cognition, work and morality; of word and example; of convictions and actions; of the ethical and the aesthetic; of the rational and the emotional.[19]

The Great Pre-War Controversies

Soviet educational theory and methodology, as often happens with systems of thought, were gradually pounded into shape on the anvil of debate. This was particularly so in the 20's and 30's. In more than one issue it was Krupskaya's instinct for dialectics which saw the valid in antithetical positions and worked them into a desired synthesis.

In the earliest years there was controversy with anti-Soviet educators who defended the need for the school's independence from politics and the decentralisation of education. This so-called "Free School" thesis was labeled "liberal bourgeois" because under its seeming concern for the child's welfare it was, in its own way, supporting an unjust class system by virtue of a reprehensible neutrality. These a-political theoreticians inherited from pre-revolutionary Russia a vision of educational goals in terms of the child along. Even such eventually eminent Soviet educationalists as Blonsky and

Shatsky, who personally welcomed the Revolution, had sympathy for the "Free Schoolers". The Narkompros Trio worked to convince them that education should also be viewed as social phenomenon and as a unity with economics and politics.[20]

A second threat came from a totally different quarter. The overzealous, if not fanatical, Proletkult sect and ideology insisted that only the proletariat could participate in the creation of a new truly proletarian culture and repudiated as pernicious whatever accomplishments antedated the victory of the proletariat in Russia. The Proletkult is sometimes labeled in the textbooks as "petty bourgeois anarchistic", that is childishly and foolishly supportive of class hegemenony by a refusal to take into the socialist armoury the finest weapons forged by pre- or anti-socialist forces. It was condemned as an unrealistic disengagement from life and the vital contemporary challenges of the Revolution. As Lenin declared to the Third Congress of the Komsomol (1920), the socialist must foster a respectful attitude to the legacy of the past and use it creatively to build a better socialist future; proletarian culture is not simply a leap from nowhere; it is not just the invention of self-styled specialists on proletarian culture.[21]

The accolade of "petty pragmatic bourgeois" went to the Dewey theory of interests-based learning, the Dalton Plan with its teacher-pupil contract and the Project Method[22] involving learning activities based on man's fundamental needs. Some early Soviet theorists had felt a momentary attraction for these ideas, and they even made their way into Kalashnikov's eventually suspect Pedagogical Encyclopaedia (1927-1930). However, Krupskaya was never enamoured of American style pedagogy.

She saw an injustice to the pupil in a learning process from which everything is removed except whatever seems to have practical application. The child is deprived of real knowledge and left with a recipe file. [23]

Another significant controversy which developed in the 20's had to do with the importance of the school in the task of popular education. We may refer to it alternatively as either the "Socialogizers-Biologizers" Controversy or the debate between "Wide Boundary" and "Narrow Boundary" Education. Witnessing the awesome elimination of illiteracy at the initiative of various bodies and associations in post-revolutionary Russia,[24] some theoreticians began to wonder about the usefulness of the institutional school. Seeing potential of society in action, these so-called "socialogizers" concluded that the notional boundaries of pedagogy itself should be far more extensively widened. Some even felt that the notional barrier between social life and education should be eliminated; the very concept of learning would thus be reduced to that of the individual's socialisation within the different spheres of life. They diminished the role of the school as a special institution created for the precise purpose of educating in the sense of equipping the learner with a context of reference and a systematic grasp of the basics of science. Consistent with their theory of education, they understandably promoted the "Project Method" as the exclusive vehicle for teaching and learning. Education was not viewed as an organised pre-planned process, and Shul'gin even defended his "Withering School" thesis, namely that the school would ultimately disappear as the artificial barriers between school and life withered away. School, it was forecast, would dissolve in the great "flow of life". Some "withering schoolers" felt a kinship with the Proletkult interpretation that the school was a pernicious hold-over from bourgeois culture. Against this alliance of theories Narkompros defended the value of the institutional school with vigour and determination.[25]

In the opposite corner of the same ring were the so-called "biologizers" who sought to further narrow the boundaries of education and who, at least according to the disapproving reports of later Marxist theoreticians, ascribed undue importance to the role of purely biological factors in the educational process. In actual fact, most of them saw education as a process in which the social and the "biological"[26] dimensions were of equal significance. The object of education they saw as consisting of carefully organised influences on the pupil in a kind of "hothouse" or "greenhouse" atmosphere. The educational process involved a deliberately "narrowed" arrangement and concentration of social influences in the pedagogical rearing of the child. Thus real educational development could only occur in the controlled environmental conditions of family, school and other children's establishments.

Krupskaya saw some validity in both positions and made a double synthesis. First of all, each position was promoting only one of two very important elements in the educational process, i.e. the elemental-spontaneous on the one hand and the conscious-systematic on the other. Secondly, each position was anchored on a different, though legitimate, acceptation of the term "education". If taken in the important, though wide, sense, then education is, of course, that "whole process of social influences on man in the course of his whole life". If taken in the equally important, though technical, sense, then education is "the pre-planned and systematic influence of adults on the behaviour of children and adolescents" that takes place in family and school.

Finally, from her theoretical synthesis Krupskaya draws a methodological guideline as she concludes that the school's task is "to *organise* in a particular *direction* that *totality* of influences which the child receives from *life around him*.[27]

The position of the Soviet school as the leading formational-educational institution was definitively assured with the censure of the anti-schoolers in a resolution of the Party's Central Committee in 1931. One positive result of the polemics, however, was the generally expressed need for more study into the roles of environment and heredity as factors in the child's development and education. Such research did, in fact, move apace throughout the 20's and up to the mid 30's, and the field of "Pedalogy" emerged with its ambitious claim to be a comprehensive science about children. Until its own censure in 1936, Pedology commanded widespread interest and respect except from some severe critics like Makarenko. It never seemed to have a clearly formulated objective and drew its material widely from pedagogics, psychology, physiology, medicine and sociology. It eventually ran foul of the Party when it was seen to contradict the fundamental Marxist-Leninist conception of man as an active, independent and self-determining struggler and builder of socialism. The chief accusation brought against it was that Pedology recognised a "fatalistic" conditioning of children's development by social and biological factors and, in part, by heredity. As such it harboured bourgeois concepts in its theories and practices (e.g. its widespread employment of IQ testing for placement purposes). Krupskaya was, as usual, the first to fire across the pedological bows in the late 20's. She maintained that pedological views were often unscientific and class-reactionary; some children were often seen simply to have less than others and that nothing could be done about it. Makarenko challenged its dogmatism and fatalism, and claimed it offered simplistic or no solutions at all. Unfortunately the 1936 censure introduced too harsh a backlash, and it was again Krupskaya who had to plead the defence of Pedology's positive contributions. In her last works, she made a plea for research into the child's characteristics at successive psychological ages; without such knowledge, the Marxist educator cannot influence the child in the desired direction. Unfortunately, she was not listened to and a decline took place in the study of the child's biological, sociological and psychological dimensions. In fact, it was not till the eve of the War that a more urgent plea from an All-Union Conference on Pedagogical Sciences (April 1941) began to reverse attitudes once again. [28]

The 40's and 50's

One highlight of the post-war Reconstruction was the appearance of Goncharov's Foundations of Pedagogics (1947) which provided the most systematic study up to then of the science of education and explored its relationships with politics, philosophy and other scientific disciplines. In this period there was also a concentration of scholarly attention on the role of didactics in pedagogical theory, the teaching of patriotism and individual conscientious discipline, pedagogical process, content and course structure and, finally, the particular significance of environment in personality formation. [29]

In the early 50's the review Sovietskaya Pedagogika featured a significant series of wide-ranging and highly speculative debates in the area of theory: the nature and goals of education, the functions of the school, the relationship between communist and pre-socialist forms of education, the identification of what is a-temporal and historically transient in education, the specific role of education in a pre-class, class-, and classless society and, finally, whether education is by nature a basic or a super-structural social phenomenon. As regards this last debate, even those who opted for its super-structural character nevertheless conceded that education must be considered unique in its category inasmuch as it enjoyed a kind of historical inheritance in its types and forms. Others simply maintained that because of its universality and immanence within human society education had to be deemed a basic social phenomenon similar in part to language and in part to production; moreover, its "vechnost'" (eternal quality) must distinguish it from the superstructural.[30] Despite the abstract theorizing, these debates were significant for the further research which they helped launch into many different methodological and theoretical problems for years to come. They also set the stage for the greater sophistication that was to mark developments in pedogogical theory and methodology during the 60's and 70's.

Stage of Developed Socialism

This is the term sometimes used to designate Soviet history of the 60's and 70's, a period spanning the later Krushchev and Brezhnev eras and which witnessed a remarkable upward spiral of social and scientific-technological progress. Of enormous significance was the foundation in 1966 of the prestigious Academy of Pedagogical Sciences which coordinates research for the entire Soviet Union with its affiliated publishing house, research institutes, library (more than 2 million titles), laboratories and experimental schools, and some two thousand scientists and area specialists. Another monumental contribution to the refinement of the whole conceptual-terminological apparatus of pedagogics was the 1968 publication of the four-volume Pedagogical Encyclopaedia.[31]

Because of the explosion of knowledge in so many inter-related areas the Central Committee of the Party in 1969 defined the direction to be taken by the Academy: there was urgent need for an updated comprehensive methodology that took the new conditions well into consideration. Thus a new "integrating" perspective now encouraged problems to be seen and solved not in isolation but against the background of a larger scene and system. Theoreticians now spoke of the "historical perspective" answer to questions and challenges: the perennial goals of socialist education must be pursued with an awareness of the concrete circumstances of socialism in its current historical moment. Lenin's"all-round development" required in the 60's and 70's that the citizen also understand vital spheres of contemporary social life, like production, services and management.[32] Since the Twenty-fifth Party Congress (1976) the so-called "complex approach" to education is much talked about in pedagogical methodology; it posits the need to coordinate all the educative forces of society as the most important condition for achieving the school-goer's all-round formation. Ironically, what militates most against the new integrating and synthesizing tendency is the vast departmentalisation that has occurred in Soviet pedagogical studies over the years; pedagogical institutes offer a truly wide range of courses including such areas as defectology, managerial, military and corrective-rehabilitational pedagogics.[33]

In the area of technical vocabulary, there is the continuous need to keep the terminological system neat, snug and unambiguous. In pedagogics and some other sciences there has been a tendency to reduce the number of theoretical concepts to the minimum possible. However, the new integrating vision and increased trans-fertilization among natural, social and technical sciences have invited an immigration of extraneous concepts and terminology into the old pedagogical preserve, and this lexical onslaught is causing momentary confusion.

There has been a similar penetration by research methods peculiar to empirico-mathematical sciences and cybernetics. However, this is more limited as the pedological controversy of the 30's still casts its long shadow in a gesture of caution. Accordingly, it is generally felt that a certain amount of indulgence may be shown these research techniques but that they cannot produce on their own any truly authentic insights into strictly pedagogical phenomena and processes. [34]

To conclude this paper where it began, another challenge of this period that has carried over into the 80's is the need to work out the proper theoretical relationship between the logical and the historical in pedagogical research. History, as a reflection of dialectical development, is of great significance to the Marxist analysis of all reality. That also includes the science of pedagogics as distinct even from the phenomenon of Soviet education itself.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Na uroven' partiinykh trebovanii" (On the level of the Party's Demands), *Sovietskaya Pedagogika*, 1, (January, 1987), p. 7.

2. L. Kunetskaya and K. Mashtakova, *Lenin - Great and Human*. (Moscow: Progress, 1979), pp. 124-130.

3. G.D.Obichkin et al, *V.I. Lenin*. (Moscow: Progress, 1979), p. 8.

4. F.S. Ozerskaya, "N.K. Krupskaya: podgotovka fronta prosveshcheniya k proletarskoi revolutsii" (N.K. Krupskaya: Preparing the Educational Front for the Proletarian Revolution), *Sovietskaya Pedagogika*, 2, (February, 1987), pp. 89-90.

5. Obichkin, p. 17.

6. N.P. Kuzin and M.N. Kolmakova, *Ocherki pedagogicheskoi nauki v SSSR: 1917-1980* (Outline of Pedagogical Science in USSR: 1917-1980). (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1986), pp. 9-11.

7. G. Neuner and Yu. K. Babansky (eds.), *Pedagogika*. (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1984), pp. 158-159.

8. Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment*. (Cambridge: University Press,1970), p. 10.

9. Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

10. In Russian there are three words for "education", each one highlighting a different aspect of the activity: "obrazovanie" (the "formational" aspect, like the German "Bildung"); "prosveshchenie" (the gnoseological aspect - sometimes rendered as "enlightenment"); "vospitanie" (the aspect of "upbringing" or "rearing" - the form etymologically closest to the classical latin "educare"). N.M. Shansky et al, *Kratky etimologichesky slovar' russkogo yazyka* (Short Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language). (Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1971).

11. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 11-12. The distinction still applies in Soviet pedagogics and educational practice. Cf. Neuner-Babansky, pp. 158-159.

12. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 11-12.

13. Ibid., p. 13.

14. Fitzpatrick, p. 29.

15. Kuzin-Kolmakova, p. 14.

16. V.A. Sukhomlinsky, O vospitanii (Education). (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1985, 5th ed.), p. 191.

17. Kuzin-Kolmakova, p. 15.

18. V.S. Sukhomlinsky, Serdtse otdayu detyam (I Give My Heart to Children). (Kiev: Radyans'ka shkola, 1969), p. 83.

19. Kuzin-Kolmakova, p. 15.

20. Ibid., pp. 16, 28-29.

21. Inid., pp. 16, 33-34; Fitzpatrick, p. 17.

22. Ivor Morrish, Disciplines of Education. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), pp. 123-125.

23. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 17-18.

24. N. Kuzin and M. Kondakov, Education in the USSR. (Moscow: Progress, 1977), pp. 11-13.

25. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 19, 33-34; Fitzpatrick, pp. 320-321.

26. At the risk of some oversimplification I think it fair to say that, as Marxist materialists, the biologizers intended the term "biological" to embrace at once the anatomical, physiological and psychological parameters. Kuzin-Kolmakova, p. 41.

27. Kuzin-Kolmakova, pp. 20, 36.

28. Ibid., pp. 23, 41-44.

29. Ibid., pp. 26, 45-46.

30. Ibid., pp. 38-39.

31. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

32. Ibid., pp. 52, 54.

33. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

34. Ibid., pp. 57-59.

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THE BACKGROUND, MOTIVATION AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF TWO GROUPS OF STUDENT TEACHERS

Susan O'Connell

Introduction

The study which is described in this paper investigated certain factors involved in the career choice of two groups of student teachers studying for the Higher Diploma in Education (H.Dip. in Ed.) for the the Bachelor in Education (B.Ed.) in Trinity College Dublin.[1] A survey was designed to examine their social and geographical origins, motives and personality characteristics.

The results of other similar studies are briefly described. An account is then given of the design and implementation of the empirical study and the results of the survey are described.

The Findings of Other Studies

Two studies which were carried out seventeen years apart show the pattern of social class background amongst entrants to Colleges of Education and to university. The findings may be seen in Table 1.

The *Investment in Education* report analysed the social class background of entrants to teacher training colleges (now called Colleges of Education) and to universities in 1963.[2] When figures for the population distribution are taken into account it is evident that farming families were over-represented among entrants to training colleges and under-represented among university entrants. The middle classes were over-represented in both categories of students but more seriously so among the university entrants. The working classes were under-represented in both groups.

Patrick Clancy carried out a study of all those who enrolled for the first time as full-time higher education students in 1980.[3]

His findings of a preponderance of College of Education students from farming backgrounds and of university students from professional backgrounds and the under-representation of students from working class families repeat the patterns of the Investment in Education findings.

Studies conducted during the last fifty years suggest that despite social, economic and educational changes, motives for the choice of a teaching career have remained largely unchanged. It has been generally found that reasons given by student teachers for their career choice tend to be idealistic and that three motives in particular consistently rank highly: these are the attractions of a secure job, a desire to work with children and liking for teaching.[4]

Many researchers have used personality inventories in attempts to find the distinctive characteristics of teachers and student teachers, but have failed to find a personality type which is typical of those who enter the profession.[5]

Design of the Study

A survey of a sample of student teachers was undertaken in Trinity College Dublin in March 1986 by the author.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN 1961 AND 1981 AND OF COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITY ENTRANTS IN 1963 AND 1980

Social Class	Colleges of Education		University		Population Distribution	
	1963[a] %	1980[b] %	1963[c] %	1980[b] %	1961[d] %	1981[e] %
Farmers	32.5	33.3	20.0	17.0	27.3	16.5
Professional, managerial	17.4	36.7)	65.0	38.9	10.2	15.6
Intermediate non-manual	12.2	12.1)		29.0	12.4	15.0
Other non-manual	4.8	6.2	3.0	4.6	9.4	10.9
Skilled manual	5.3	9.3	6.0	6.8	13.0	19.2
Semi- and unskilled	5.3	2.3	2.0	3.6	22.4	12.6
Unknown, deceased	22.4	0.0	4.0	0.0	5.2	10.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

[a] SOURCE: Investment in Education, Annexes and Appendices, p.6.

[b] SOURCE: Clancy, p. 21.

[c] SOURCE: Investment in Education, p. 172.

[d] SOURCE: Ibid., Annexes and Appendices, p. 384.

[e] SOURCE: Census of Population of Ireland 1981, Vol 7, p.322

Survey Population. It was decided that the Higher Diploma in Education class and the First Year Bachelor in Education class in Trinity College Dublin would be suitable subjects for the survey as they would provide a sample of students preparing for first and second level teaching.

Survey Instrument. A questionnaire was constructed to obtain biographical information about the respondents and to elicit their reasons for choosing to teach. Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire are used to measure the personality of the students.

Design of the Questionnaire. The survey was designed to elicit the following information about each respondent:

Reasons for choosing to become a teacher
Sex, age group and marital status
Home county and type of area, i.e. rural/urban
Parents' occupations
Number of teachers in the respondent's immediate family
Type of post-primary school attended
First choice of career
The nature of any previous occupation
The age at which the decision to become a teacher was made
The respondent's perception of the social status of teachers
Personality characteristics.

Implementation of the Survey. The questionnaire was group-administered in March 1986. 73 per cent (59) of the B.Ed. Class and 65 per cent (75) of the H.Dip. in Ed. class took part in the survey. This represented 69 per cent of the total sample provided by the two classes.

Results of the Survey

Biographical Information. 85 per cent of the B.Ed. respondents and 77 per cent of the H.Dip. respondents were female.

The respondents were asked to state which county they had lived in up to the time that they had left school. The largest proportion of the students (43 per cent)came from County Dublin.

Amongst the B.Ed. students, 29 per cent were Dubliners. This figure represents a major change when it is remembered that in 1963 only 3 per cent of entrants to primary teacher training were Dubliners.[6] Counties Cork, Kerry,Mayo, Clare and Galway have traditionally provided large numbers of primary teachers. In this study the first three of these counties provided 7 per cent, 7 per cent and 5 per cent of the respondents respectively. There were no students from Counties Galway and Clare.

These figures indicate a possibility that the pattern of recruitment to primary teaching may be changing in the direction of a more even regional distribution. This changing pattern was also found in a study of applicants to St. Patrick's Drumcondra in 1979.[7]

The respondents were asked to specify their fathers' occupations. Each response was assigned to one of the twelve socio-economic groups which were used for classification in the 1981 Census of Population. The two categories which accounted for the largest proportion of the total samples were "farmers"(26 per cent) and "employers and managers' (21 per cent). Both of these groups are markedly over-represented when their share of the population distribution is examined.

TABLE 2

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Social Class	Total Sample		B. Ed.		H.Dip.		Men		Women		Population
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	1981*
Farmers	35	26.6	24	41.4	11	14.9	4	15.3	31	29.2	16.5
Middle class	72	54.6	26	44.7	46	62.2	14	53.8	58	54.7	30.6
Working class	24	18.1	8	13.8	16	21.7	8	30.8	16	15.1	42.7
Unknown/other	1	0.8	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	1	0.9	10.1
Total	132	100	58	100	74	100	26	100	106	100	100

*Census of Population of Ireland 1981, Volume 7, Table 15, p. 322.

Table 2 shows the social class distribution of the respondents when they are grouped into the three broad classes of "farmers", "middle class" and "working class".

The students in the survey were asked how many teachers were in their immediate family. 35 per cent of them had at least one teacher in their immediate family.

The respondents were asked whether teaching had been their first, or ideal, choice of occupation. For 21 per cent of the group an occupation other than teaching would have been their ideal choice. An insufficient number of points obtained in the Leaving Certificate was the reason most often given for not following the ideal choice of occupation.

16 per cent of the respondents had had other employment which they left in order to enter the teaching profession. The reason most often given for the change of occupation was a belief that teaching would be more stimulating, rewarding and satisfying than the previous occupation. The B.Ed. students decided upon a teaching career at an earlier age than the H. Dip. students, with 31 per cent of the former and 12 per cent of the latter making the decision while at primary school. Within each group the women decided earlier than men.

Motives. The respondents were given a list of fourteen motives which may have influenced their choice of a teaching career, and were asked to choose three and rank them from one to three in order of importance. Each time a motive was ranked first it was given three points, each time it was ranked second it was given two points, and each time it was ranked third it was given one point. The motives were then ranked in order of significance according to the weight of their aggregate score. The ranking may be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3

RANKING OF WEIGHTED MOTIVES FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE AND FOR EACH SUB-GROUP

	RANK				
Motives	Total group N = 132	B.Ed. group N = 58	H.Dip. group N = 74	Men N = 26	Women N = 106
I am fond of children and enjoy working with them	1	1	3	4	1
Teaching offers me the chance to use my abilities and aptitudes	2	2	1	2	2
I feel that I would be a good teacher	3	3	2	1	3
In teaching I can influence other people for good	4	5	5	3	6
I am interested in teaching a particular subject	4	14	4	5	5
Teachers have good working hours and holidays	6	4	6	7	4
No other suitable occupation was available	7	10	7	6	8
I was influenced by a teacher (or teachers) at school	8	6	8	8	9
I was influenced by one or both parents	9	7	8	9	7
Teaching offers security of employment	10	8	10	9	10
Teaching is a rewarding career	11	9	12	14	11
Other reasons	12	10	12	11	12
Teachers have good social status	13	12	12	12	12
Teaching is a suitable job for a mother	14	16	11	15	14
I enjoy the feeling of power which teaching gives me	15	13	15	12	15
Teaching is an easy job	16	16	15	15	15
Teachers earn a good salary	16	14	17	15	15

The three motives which were assigned by far the most weight were, in order of importance, "I am fond of children and enjoy working with them", "Teaching offers me a chance to use my abilities and aptitudes" and "I feel that I would be a good teacher".

When the results of this survey are compared to those of other studies of student teachers' motives, the most significant difference is the importance given to security of employment. A study undertaken in 1944[8] and one undertaken in 1963[9] found that security of employment was one of the four most important reasons for choosing a teaching career. In the study described in this paper "Teaching offers security of employment" was not of great significance, ranking tenth in the overall pattern of motives. This is perhaps a reflection of the fact that newly-qualified teachers can no longer expect to be offered a permanent position; some years of part-time teaching, temporary teaching or teaching abroad are now generally necessary before a permanent post is obtained.

Personality Characteristics. For every respondent raw scores were obtained for each of the personality factors which are measured by Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire. These raw scores were converted to standard scores using the male and female norms for the British population.[10] The mean standard score for each factor was then obtained. The sixteen personality factors measured may be seen in Table 4.

It was found that the group as a whole obtained a mean standard score within the average range on thirteen of the sixteen factors.

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TABLE 4

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS MEASURED BY CATTELL'S 16 PF QUESTIONNAIRE

Factor	High Score	Low Score
A	outgoing	reserved
B	more intelligent	less intelligent
C	emotionally stable	unstable
E	dominant	submissive
F	surgent or lively	desurgent
G	conscientious	irresponsible
H	bold	shy
I	sensitive	insensitive
L	suspicious	trusting
M	imaginative	practical
N	sophisticated	naive
O	anxious	placid
Q_1	radical	conservative
Q_2	independent	dependent
Q_3	self-controlled	uncontrolled
Q_4	tense	relaxed

A mean standard score outside the average range was obtained for three factors: Intelligence (Factor B), Surgency or liveliness (Factor F) and Naivete (Factor N).

The score for intelligence was well above the average range, and was within the range obtained by between 9 per cent and 15 per cent of adults in the British general population.

The other factor for which the mean score of the entire group was well above average range was surgency or liveliness. According to Cattell, a high score on this dimension of personality indicates people who are "enthusiastic, talkative and cheerful".[11] Cattell claims that surgency "declines with age fairly steeply between seventeen and thirty-five years and slowing thereafter."[12] When it is also taken into account that Cattell's norms were established with 38 as the mean age for women and 40 as the mean age for men it is not surprising that this group of young people should obtain a high score on this aspect of personality.

The mean score for the total group was below the average range for one factor: Factor N. A low score on this factor indicates naivete and is described as a tendency to be "unpretentious, genuine but socially clumsy, spontaneous and natural."[13] It may again be taken into account that norms for each factor were established with men and women who were older than the respondents in this study. As sophistication increases with age, a group of young people could be expected to obtain a score towards the unsophisticated end of the scale.

When the personality profiles of the H.Dip. group and the B.Ed. group are compared the most striking finding is the similarity of the two groups. In a range of mean standard scores from 1 to 10 there is no difference of more than 0.5 between the two groups on any one factor. A difference of 0.5 was found for Factor F (The B.Ed. students were more lively) and for Factor Q (the B.Ed. students were more conservative).

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2. Department of Education, *Investment in Education*: (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1966), p. 172 and Annexes and Appendices, p. 6.

3. Patrick Clancy, *Participation in Higher Education: A National Survey*. (Dublin: Higher Education Authority, 1982).

4. See, for example:

   (a) C.W. Valentine, "Reasons for the Choice of the Teaching Profession by University Students". *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 4 (1934), 237-258.

   (b) W.B. Tudhope, "Motives for Choice of the Teaching Profession by Training College Students", *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 14 (1944), 129-141.

   (c) J.W. Getzels and P.W. Jackson, "The Teacher's Personality and Characteristics" in *A Handbook of Research on Teaching*, ed. Nathaniel Gage (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 506-582.

6. *Investment in Education*, Annexes and Appendices, p.8.

7. Vincent Greaney, Andrew Burke and Joe McCann, "Characteristics of Student Entrants to Teacher Education", paper presented at the 11th Annual Conference of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland, Galway, 22 March 1986.

8. W.B. Tudhope, "Motives for Choice of the Teaching Profession by Training College Students", p. 130.

9. Sister M. Simeon Tarpey, "The Relative Importance of Intelligence in the Selection of Students in Irish Training Colleges", p. 96.

10. The norms for the British population were used as norms for the Irish population have not been established.

11. Raymond Cattell, Herbert Eber and Maurice Tatsuoka *Handbook for the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire* (Windsor, Berks,: NFER, 1970), p. 87.

12. Ibid., p. 88.

13. Ibid., p. 99.

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PERSONALITY VARIABLES, ATTITUDES AND ATTAINMENTS IN BOYS AGED 11 - 14

Jean Whyte

In this study measures of personality, self-concept, attitudes, ability and attainments were obtained for two groups of low SES boys in the final year of elementary school and in years 1 and 3 of secondary school. One group (A) had undergone an early intervention programme at age four, the other group (B) had not. No differences were found between the groups in Extraversion or Neuroticism although both groups were higher than the norms for Neuroticism in all three years. Scores were ore stable on Extraversion between P.7 and Form I than between Form I and Form III for both groups and did not appear to be related to attainment, whereas Extraversion was significantly related to attainment for both groups.

Group A had higher mean scores for Self-Worth and Social Competence and more significant relationships between variables and attainment than Group B. Attitudes were more stable for both groups between Form I and Form II than between P.7 and Form I. Change was more positive for Group A than for Group B, but patterns of relationships with attainments was similar for both groups.

The complexity of determinants underlying academic achievement has been a recurrent theme in educational research. Intelligence was recognised at an early stage as a possible explanatory variable and considerable research energy was devoted to exploring its part in a student's progress through school and beyond. In recent years, it has been evident that a range of influences are at work as a child proceeds through school Kaplan

(1986) suggests the following in his section on factors affecting school achievement:

- school experience which can be more successful in some schools and with some teachers than others; instructional approaches which are matched or sometimes mismatched with the needs of the child;
- teacher expectation;
- socio-economic status which includes as well as the traditional factors such as occupational status, educational level and income of parents, measures reflecting size of family, educational aspirations, ethnicity, mobility, and presence of reading material in the home;
- gender;
- intelligence, though as measured with traditional standardized tests this can reflect the availability of opportunities for learning as much as innate capability;
- aspects of personality such as locus of control and basic dimensions of extraversion/introversion and neuroticism.
- factors more directly related to the learning situation such as the cognitive style of learner and teacher, motivation, attitudes towards school and towards particular subjects taught and work habits.

The relevance of many of these factors for successful achievement in school is assumed by probably the majority of teachers and those involved with young people and research can be found to support each of these factors individually. Some researchers have attempted to synthesise groups of these factors into underlying general dispositions. Eysenck (1953) brings together social attitude organisation and basic personality dimensions. He suggests that two general dimensions underlie social attitude organisation: radicalism/conservatism and tough-mindedness/tendermindedness, the latter being a basic manifestation of the dimension extraversion/introversion. Attitudes, for Eysenck, are seen as intrinsically linked with personality dimensions.

There is support for this view from other writers. Magaro et al (1985) have proposed that personality serves as the organising force within the individual that guides interactions with the environment so that discrete elements of the person and situation are arranged in a meaningful whole that is manifested in behaviour'. Marjoribanks (1986) criticises models of research which propose that children's attitudes and aspirations mediate in part the impact of ability and environmental influences on eventual academic attainment and which do not include recognition of the role of personality variables.

A review by Entwistle (1972) surveyed research using factorial approaches to personality with schoolchildren and students. Although some of the findings were contradictory, a pattern emerged from a number of separate studies of different age groups. This suggested that extroverts tended to perform better than introverts in the late primary and early secondary years and that there was a link between neuroticism and poor performance at that age level. Studies of older groups indicated that introversion was associated with academic success towards the end of second-level and in third-level education. There were also signs of a relationship between introversion and high ability in the early secondary years although this was confined to a very small number of studies.

An associated area of relevance is that of self-concept or self-efficacy. While there is little agreement across studies on the definition of self-concept or on its measurement, it has generally been found to be an important mediational influence which may play an important part in defining the nature of an individual's relationship with other people. Self-perceptions of competence and controllability can be viewed as causal agents and therefore as active constituents in the prediction of human behaviour (Chapman et al, 1984). A number of studies have reported a relationship between aspects of self-concept and academic achievement, though some have found no relationship (Ellerman, 1980). Hart (1985) distinguishes between general self-esteem and academic self-image and found the latter more predictive of achievement than general measures of self-esteem, as did Dyson (1967) and Kifer (1975).

Most of the studies located in connection with these areas of interest have been either cross-sectional or one-shot designs. Assumptions of stability of the measures across time have, in many cases, been assumed. Entwistle (1972) noted that the few longitudinal studies he reviewed had found considerable instability on measures of personality over periods of twelve months. He suggests that one might conclude that shifts in relationship between personality and attainment with age might be explained as much in terms of changes in personality within contrasting environments as in changes in attainment.

The present paper reports a longitudinal study over three years which included the period of transition from primary to secondary school for two groups of boys in a deprived and troubled area of Belfast, Northern Ireland.

This period is a time of change for children, a time of self-discovery, of maturation, of stress for some. Wilson (1985) found that academic results at the end of the first year of second-level education were the most predictive of later academic achievement. If personality variables are related to this kind of achievement and if personality7 variables are subject to change during this period, it is surely important to be aware of the extent of variability and of the relationship between personality and achievement at this time for students.

The Present Study - Methodology

The two groups of boys in the study had been with the same teacher on beginning primary school. Group A (N=22) had undergone a language enrichment programme before starting on the Primary curriculum. Group B (N=29) while having had preschool class experience, had not been exposed to extra language stimulation at that time. (Whyte and Turner, 1979). Progress throughout the primary school had been monitored (Whyte, 1981; 1983) and the children had advanced into two local secondary schools and one grammar school. The present study had as one of its aims to establish whether the intervention at age 4 had had any lasting effects on attitudes and personality such as have been found in similar studies in the United States (Schweinhart and Weikart, 1980; Lazar and Darlington, 1982).

The main questions asked in this study were as follows:

i) How stable are measures of personality, self-concept and attitudes over the years 11-14 in boys of low socio-economic status?
ii) How are these variables related to attainment and ability over the same period?

iii) Are there differences between the groups?

Measures

The following measures were used in this study:

Junior Eysenck Personality Inventory
Barker-Lunn Attitude Scale for Children
Edinburgh Reading Test (subtest, Reading for Facts)
Vernor Graded Arithmetic/Mathematics Test
English Picture Vocabulary Test (Test III)
SRA Primary Mental Abilities Tests (Ages 11-17)

The above measures were administered in Primary 7, Form I and Form III. The Harter Perceived Competence Scale for Children (subscales of Self-Worth and Social Competence) was administered in Form III. The measures were administered in May-June every year by the researcher or an assistant, in each school separately, usually in two sessions to the boys in groups. Data for this paper were collected in 1981, 1982 and 1984 for the Control Group and in 1982, 1983 and 1985 for the Experimental Group.

Results

a) Extraversion-Introversion and Neuroticism

There were no significant differences between the groups on their mean scores for Extraversion and Neuroticism in P.7, F.I or F.III. It should be noted that the mean scores for Extraversion were significantly lower than the norms in P.7 but were not significantly different in F.I or F.III. The scores for Neuroticism on the other hand were significantly higher than the norms for both groups in P.7, F.I and F.III. The lie scores were within acceptable limits for both groups.

TABLE I

JEPI: Mean scores on Extraversion and Neuroticism

	Extraversion			Neuroticism		
	P.7	F.I	F.III	P.7	F.I	F.III
Group A	14.09	16.8	17.95	13.36	14.61	13.6
(n=22)	4.02	3.1	4.16	3.31	4.74	3.8
Group B	15.0	17.0	16.89	14.58	14.36	14.0
(n=29)	2.70	4.46	3.17	3.92	4.61	4.84

Correlations between the scores obtained in P.7 and F.I and between the scores obtained in F.I. and F.III showed similar trends for both groups - greater stability between P.7 and F.I, during the transition period from primary to secondary school, than during the period F.I. to F.III for Extraversion. It may be noted that Group A, the experimental group achieved higher correlations during both periods suggesting a higher level of stability in these subjects for this trait.

TABLE II

Correlations for JEPI Scores in P.7, F.I, and F.III

		Extraversion		Neuroticism	
		F.I	F.III	F.I	F.III
Group A	P.7	0.69		-0.13	
	F.I		0.34		0.49
Group B	P.7	0.41		0.40	
	F.I		.29		0.43

The picture for Neuroticism is also similar for both groups for the period between F.I and F.III, the early years of secondary school. Significant positive correlations were found for both groups for this period and the correlations were higher than those found for Extraversion suggesting that this may be a more stable trait for these subjects. Between P.7 and F.I. results for the groups were dissimilar with little stability for Group A and moderate stability for Group B. This could reflect different experiences for the groups as Group B was at this stage in 1981-82 and Group A in 1982-83. Events in the community may have had differential effects on the Groups - for example the hunger strikes and accompanying tensions of 1982.

b) Extraversion/Introversion, Neuroticism and Attainments

Correlations were calculated between Extraversion scores and the scores on the Primary Mental Abilities, EPVT, Maths and Reading in P.7, F.I and F.III. All correlations in P.7 were positive but low. Those of Group A were higher for three of the four variables than those of Group B and for Maths, the correlation was significant at the .05 level.

In F.I, Group A had three significant correlations (Primary Mental Abilities, EPVT and Reading) and Group B had two (Primary Mental Abilities and EPVT).

In F.III, Group A had higher correlations between Extraversion and all other variables than Group B though Group B's correlations were higher for Maths and Reading than they had been in F.I.

These results confirm Entwistle's findings of a relationship between extraversion and attainments during the late primary and early secondary years. This study suggests that this relationship becomes stronger during these years, at least for the socio-economic group studies in the present project. It is also of interest that the correlations of the Experimental Group were higher and more consistent than those of Group B suggesting a more integrated patterning of personal characteristics and performance for these children.

TABLE III

Correlations between Extraversion and SRA,EPVT,Maths,Reading IN P.7, F.I AND F.III

i. Primary 7

	SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Group A	.18	.35	.46+	.22
Group B	.20	.01	.30	.18

ii. Form I

	SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Group A	.42+	.43+	.37	.54++
Group B	.41+	.46++	.02	.25

iii. Form III

	SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Group A	.58++	.59++	.57+	.42+
Group B	.49++	.35	.34	.37

c) Neuroticism and Attainments

Correlations were calculated between the Neuroticism scores and scores on the attainment and ability tests. The results showed very low correlations both positive and negative with all four variables over the whole period P.7 - F.I - F.III. The correlations ranged from -0.3 to +0.3 and suggest that for this population, neuroticism was not exerting an untoward influence on school progress and that in this respect the subjects were dissimilar to those in the studies reviewed by Entwistle. This is interesting in the context of the troubled environment in which they lived in Northern Ireland and suggests that in spite of the fact that their neuroticism scores were higher than the English norms, they were not adversely affected in the intellectual functioning as measured by these tests.

2. Self-Worth and Social Competence

These two subscales of the Harter Scale were administered only in Form III to both groups. It was found that Group A had higher mean scores on both subscales than Group B and the difference was significant at the .05 level for Social Competence.

TABLE IV

Mean scores on Self-Worth and Social Competence (Harter) in Form III

		Self-Worth	Social Competence
Group A	$\bar{X}$ =	19.04	20.66+
	S.D. =	4.34	3.34
Group B	$\bar{X}$ =	18.53	19.53
	S.D. =	4.49	2.88

Correlations between Self-Worth and attainment and ability were positive. Three of the four were higher for Group A than for Group B and two of these (Primary Mental Abilities, Maths) reached significance for Group A. These results are dissimilar from those reported in the literature which has tended not to find significant relationships between global measures of self-worth/self-esteem such as this, and performance in academic tests. It could be relevant that the relationship was found only for the group which had undergone the intervention programme in the present study. A possible effect of this programme could have been the link between general self-worth and performance in school. No data on early preschool experiences has been made available in other studies reported so that the group in the present study may, in some ways not be as typical of the norm as Group B.

TABLE V

Correlations between Self-Worth, Social Competence and Achievement (F.III)

Self-Worth

	SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Group A	.46+	.28	.42+	.21
Group B	.28	.10	.37	.27

Social Competence

	SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Group A	.54++	.35	.48+	.29
Group B	.27	.46+	.07	.18

Correlations between social Competence and the measures of ability and attainment were also positive and higher in three of the four cases for Group A than for Group B. Two of the correlations were significant for Group A and one for Group B. This suggests again a higher degree of integration for Group A between personality and achievement variables. This is further supported by the high and significant correlations found for Group A but not for Group B between the Harter subscales and the JEPI Extraversion dimension and the higher negative correlation found for Group A between Neuroticism and the Harter subscales.

TABLE VI

Correlations between Harter subscales and JEPI (Form III)

		Extraversion	Neuroticism
Group A	Self-Worth	.57	-.49
	Social Competence	.72	-.14
Group B	Self-Worth	.29	-.33
	Social Competence	.33	-.25

3. Attitudes

Over the four years of the study, scores on the subscales of the Barker-Lunn attitude scales showed some fluctuation. There were differences between the groups with regard to the trend of change. Group A showed an increase in the scores of four subscales between P.7 and F.I, Group B on three. Group A also showed an increase between F.I and F.III on five subscales, while Group B showed an increase on three. The final mean score for Group A in F.III was higher than the initial scores in P.7 for five of the subscales while this was not the case for any of the subscales for Group B. Group A then, tended to become more positive while the opposite was the case for Group B. This was confirmed by the Sign Test employed to establish whether there were significant differences between the number of subjects in each group who changed their attitudes over the period of interest. It was found that the number of subjects whose attitudes improved was greater in Group A for three of the subscales. For Group B while greater numbers improved on two of the subscales, significantly greater numbers disimproved on five of the subscales over the period in question. It would seem that there was more fluctuation and also more negative tendencies in Group B.

There were differences too between the Groups when correlations were calculated between scores at the three measuring points. Between P.7 and F.I. correlations were low but mostly positive for both groups suggesting a certain amount of instability for both, unlike the Extraversion scale of the JEPI. The subscale 'Attitude to School' was significantly correlated for Group A between P.7 and F.I. suggesting a degree of stability for this attitude in this group which was not present in the other group. Between F.I and F.III, correlations for Group A were higher than those for Group B and reached significance for four of the subscales including attitude to school. This suggests again, a higher degree of stability of attitude for Group A.

TABLE VII

Mean Scores on Barker-Lunn Scales

	Control Group			Experimental Group		
	P.7.	F.I.	F.III	P.7.	F.I.	F.III
	N=28	N=29	N=30	N=20	N=22	N=22
Academic	x=3.96	2.24	3.80	2.45	3.50	3.77
Self-Image	s.d=2.11	.95	2.44	1.05	2.44	2.65
Social	x=2.50	1.79	2.33	3.10	2.41	2.45
Adjustment	s.d=1.23	2.48	.96	1.90	.85	1.05
Relationship	x=3.50	2.58	2.67	2.70	2.86	3.54
with teacher	s.d=1.91	1.21	1.81	1.34	1.69	1.59
Importance of	x=3.86	3.93	3.10	3.45	3.22	3.59
Doing Well	s.d= .89	1.49	1.49	1.73	1.63	1.89
Attitude to	x=2.57	3.51	2.16	1.55	2.31	3.09
School	s.d=1.85	1.99	2.35	1.64	1.88	2.15
Interest in	x=2.89	3.48	2.13	2.70	2.73	2.22
School Work	s.d=1.47	1.70	1.59	1.42	1.83	1.84

TABLE VIII

Correlations between scores on Barker-Lunn attitude scales

P.7 - F.I - F.III

Primary 7 / Form I			Form I / Form III	
Group A	Group B		Group A	Group B
.28	.21	Academic Self-Image	.64	.29
.27	.24	Social Adjustment	.41	-.14
.16	.11	Relationship with teacher	.58	-.10
.03	.02	Importance of doing well	.33	.38
.51	.22	Attitude to school	.60	.37
.19	-.02	Interest in schoolwork	.39	.35

b) Correlations between Attitudes and attainments

Correlations between the attitude subscales and attainment variables in P.7 were all low for both groups and some were negative. No particular pattern was evident. Correlations ranged from -0.2 to +0.32. None reached significance.

In Form I important attitudes for both groups appeared to be Social Adjustment, Attitude to School, Importance of doing well while Academic Self-Image was related to EPVT for Group A only. These attitudes were related to various aspects of attainment at a significant level. Maths was related for both groups to attitude to school and to a belief in the importance of doing well and maths was also related to social adjustment for Group A. IQ was related to Attitude to School for Group B and to the Importance of doing well for Group A. Importance of doing well was related to more variables for Group A than for Group B, while Attitude to School was more important for Group B.

By Form III there were slight changes. Academic Self-Image was significantly related to some aspect of attainment for both groups as was Social Adjustment and Attitude to School was significantly correlated for Group B and almost reached significance for Group A with a number of the attainment variables.

Overall the picture of attitudes and their relationship to attainments was similar for both groups over the period under study. The main differences were in terms of the stability of attitudes and the trend towards more positive and more negative views and on balance Group A was more stable and more positive over time.

TABLE IX

Correlations between Barker-Lunn Attitude Scales and attainment tests in P.7, F.I and F.III

Primary 7		SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Academic Self-Image	A	.19	.025	.27	-.08
	B	-.10	.025	-.01	.31
Social Adjustment	A	.07	.05	.26	.30
	B	-.10	-.03	-.07	-.01
Relationship with teacher	A	.03	.12	-.01	-.05
	B	.18	-.12	-.09	-.2
Importance of doing well	A	.32	.19	-.09	-.01
	B	-.1	.24	.11	.06
Attitude to school	A	.05	.05	.19	.23
	B	.26	.03	.09	.10
Interest in schoolwork	A	.11	.05	.06	.05
	B	.16	.08	-.01	.03

Form I		SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Academic Self-Image	A	.20	.44+	-.05	.31
	B	.20	.12	.28	.04
Social Adjustment	A	.19	.21	.44+	.19
	B	.32	.39	.29	.66++
Relationship with teacher	A	.02	.07	-.06	.31
	B	-.25	-.32	-.09	-.34
Importance of doing well	A	.45+	.41+	.51+	.46+
	B	.24	.02	.47+	.27
Attitude to school	A	.27	.10	.44+	.31
	B	.47+	-.13	.32	.41+
Interest in schoolwork	A	.02	-.17	.22	.09
	B	.33	.17	-.12	.34

continued/

TABLE IX (Continued)

Form III		SRA	EPVT	Maths	Reading
Academic Self-Image	A	.04	.33	.19	.47+
	B	.59++	-.13	.06	.62++
Social Adjustment	A	.22	.53++	.55++	.18
	B	.36	.27	.47+	.32
Relationship with teacher	A	.34	.07	.34	.08
	B	.23	.18	.24	.28
Importance of doing well	A	.22	.02	.04	.10
	B	.29	.25	.05	.21
Attitude to school	A	.28	.34	.40+	.34
	B	.59++	.46+	.25	.55
Interest in schoolwork	A	.01	.20	.18	-.07
	B	.41+	.08	.30	.35

+ = significant at the .05 level
++ = significant at the .01 level

An additional point of interest is represented by the finding that attitudes showed the opposite tendency to the personality dimension of Extraversion in that they were less stable during the P.7 - F.I. period of transition from Primary to Secondary school than during the early years of Secondary School and reverse was found for Extraversion.

Conclusions

This study investigated the stability of personality variables and their relationship to attainment and ability in a sample of boys aged 11-14 of low socio-economic status. No differences were found between two groups, one of which had undergone an early intervention programme, on Extraversion or Neuroticism, though the Neuroticism scores of both groups were significantly higher than the norms. Scores were more stable on

Extraversion between P.7 and F.I. for both groups, and more stable for the intervention group than for the others. Neuroticism was equally stable for both groups and did not appear to be related to attainment whereas Extraversion was significantly related to performance on the attainment tests for both groups and was related more strongly for the intervention group.

The intervention group also had higher scores for Self-Worth and Social Competence and these variables were more significantly related to attainment for them than for the control group.

Attitudes were more stable for both groups between F.I and F.III than between P.7 and F.I. The intervention group was more stable and the trend was positive where there was change whereas the control group was less stable and more negative. Both groups appears to have similar relationships between attitudes and attainments.

The results suggest that expectations formed by cross-sectional and one-shot studies may need some revision in the light of longitudinal studies such as the present study if we wish to understand and perhaps to influence the relationships between variables underlying academic achievement during the school years.

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EDUCATION FOR THE LABOUR MARKET - A CRITIQUE

Peggie Geraghty

The Curriculum and Examinations Board report In Our Schools has proposed the following as a general aim of education:

> To contribute towards the development of all aspects of the individual, including aesthetic, creative, critical, cultural, emotional, intellectual, moral, physical, political, social and spiritual development for personal and family life, for working life, for living in the community and/or leisure.[1]

This is pretty well all inclusive and an educationalist could scarcely find fault with it. There is evidence, however, that in recent years one small part of that aim, i.e. - preparation for working life has assumed undue importance and has been interpreted in narrow anti-educational ways.

> The state should be entitled to shape educational policy with national economic objectives in mind.[2]

Are human beings to be valued on purely economic grounds? Of any form of education is it appropriate to ask - "is it good for the economy?" - as if this were the only question to be asked? An over-emphasis on the idea of education as preparation for working-life when working life is defined as paid employment is, I shall argue anti-educational. I am not attempting to disparage the idea of education as preparation for work. As human beings we need goods and services. These have to be provided; a skilled work-force is needed, but we have other needs just as pressing. Each of us needs to develop and exercise his or her talents, without this we cannot enjoy life or flourish as human beings.

In the debate about education for work there seems to be an assumption that paid employment is always desirable - even fulfilling. Is this so? Is not a great deal of work boring, dreary, routine, undemanding? Its only dignity is derived from the fact it enables the worker to support himself or his family. Aldous Huxley in Point Counterpoint has a character obviously based on D.H. Lawrence propose a solution to this.

> The first step would be to make people live dualistically in two compartments. In one compartment as industrial workers, in the other as human beings. As idiots and machines for eight hours out of every twenty-four and real human beings for the rest ... Admit it's dirty, hold your nose and do it for eight hours and then concentrate on being a real human being in your leisure ... The industrialists who purvey standardised ready-made amusements to the masses are doing their best to make you as much of a mechanical imbecile in your leisure as in your hours of work. But don't let them. Make the effort of being human. [3]

And it is we the educators who must attempt to teach and encourage our children to make that effort. A distinction is often made between work and labour. [4] Work, it is claimed leads to a product, whereas labour is unending - no sooner done than it must start again. The former, it is said, is suitable for human beings, the latter more appropriate for slaves. But isn't this a false distinction and are not slaves also human. Isn't slavery a condition imposed on human beings by other human beings? Is the slave of less human value than the enslaver? And cannot unending labour also have dignity.

We are not disembodied intelligences, nor are we machines. We are physical biological beings. We have needs that require labour. We need food and shelter. In early childhood and old age we need to be cared for. In sickness we need to be healed or comforted. When we die our bodies need to be buried. All these needs require labour. At its highest and best it is a labour of love - not a form of slavery. it is supremely the area where we act as moral beings. Perhaps a few times in a life-time we may be called upon to act with great physical courage or to make important demanding decisions, but for most of us for most of the time our morality must express itself in everyday things. This is, of course, a very old idea - the idea of striving for perfection through the perfection of ordinary actions, and these ordinary actions often involve labour that may or may not be paid for. This is the area common to all of us and to all human beings who have ever existed or will ever exist - the area involving our subjection to necessity - an area unaccountably neglected in most of our education.

When education for work is being discussed, however, it is generally speaking not this area of necessary labour that is in question but rather exclusively paid employment. And there is usually the assumption that as I have said already, such employment is always a good thing. Built into this assumption is the tacit endorsement of the status quo, an acceptance of the materialistic values of the consumer society, a seeing of people as first and foremost consumers. There is no doubt that the growth of unemployment is to some extent at least a direct outcome of the growth of the new technology which in one sense might be seen as altogether too successful. A sensible response to this would seem to be to increase leisure for everybody and find new means to portion out the existing wealth and the necessary work. This is not what has happened. Instead there seems to be a mad scramble to create more jobs. Why? Well obviously to keep the wheels of the consumer society turning and to keep the masses occupied. The more you consume the better citizen you are. So more and more things are produced that nobody needs, that require an expensive back up of advertising to convince people that they want. Today's luxuries become tomorrow's necessities. So more and more of our world's precious non-renewable resources are used up. Well, all this has little direct application for education - it is a political and social problem which will sooner or later have to be tackled at international political level. It is ironic that we are bombarded with admonitions to be more efficient, to produce more, when all the evidence is there that we are in some respect at least too efficient, that we are producing too much; - consider the butter and beef mountains - the wine lakes and other surplusses. In his Guide to the Irish Landscape Frank Mitchell concludes the chapter on Modern Ireland by saying:

> Our landscape will continue to deteriorate unless the Irish people will put aside the Golden Calf, and turn again to the husbandry of their Four Green Fields. [5]

But how can an educator respond? In the only way an educator can ever respond to popular slogans - by considering the real long term good of his or her pupils, by educating them to be first and foremost full human beings. And we should welcome the new technology in so far as it has the potential to release people from the drudgery of boring labour and to free them to live full human lives. That it is not so used should be a matter of regret for us but is not something we can directly influence.

I shall now examine some areas where it appears to me, dubious attempts are being made to prepare children directly for the job market. I do not intend this to be an exhaustive or complete analysis. I shall briefly examine four areas.

When John Kelly[6] claimed that the state should be entitled to shape educational policy with national economic objectives in mind he was referring to third level education because the policy he is recommending has already been implemented at second level. Richard Breen of the Economic and Social Research Institute points out that much of the expansion of the curriculum in the late 60s had this aim in view.

> this increased participation was to be largely vocational: educational output would be matched in a broad sense to the needs of the economy for scientifically and technically trained man power.[7]

As a direct outcome of such policy, courses in Engineering and Building Technology were introduced into the schools to replace the old woodwork and metalwork courses. A feature of these new courses is their highly technological nature, their increased emphasis on theory and their squeezing out of much of the element of handcraft. They require enormously expensive equipment. It is difficult to see what educational advantage there is in them for the majority of pupils. Their emphasis is on means rather than ends. Nor have the new courses made any perceivable difference to the employment rate. A small proportion of pupils will go on to be engineers, mechanics or building workers - but what of the rest? And even for those who do go on will they not still have to complete apprenticeships or gain qualifications in engineering side by side with others who have not taken these courses in school. In other words, for them the school has anticipated work that would more appropriately be done elsewhere later.

It is a great pity that the crafts which could have been and might still be, such a life - enhancing experience for all have been so eliminated from our syllabuses. We are spiritual as well as physical beings. The crafts provide an admirable and sorely needed link between technology and science on the one hand and humanities on the other. For example the present Leaving Certificate syllabus in Engineering with its stress on theory and technological skills and its neglect of design, fitness of purpose and history of design, (except for a token nod in the direction of the Higher Level) has little or educational merit for the average pupil. I am not ignoring the needs of technology merely claiming that such needs could be more appropriately catered for within craft education. Walter Gropius the director of the famous and influential Bauhaus said of the training of adult designers

> The bauhaus does not pretend to be a crafts school; contact with industry is consciously sought ... the old craft workshops will develop into industrial laboratories; from their experimentation will evolve standards for industrial production. The teaching of a craft is meant to prepare for designing for mass projection. Starting with the simplest tools and least complicated jobs, he gradually acquires ability to master more intricate problems and to work with machinery while at the same time he keeps in touch with the entire process of production from start to finish.[8]

I suggest that it is at secondary school that the pupil should have this training in crafts. Not only would the pupil benefit - but, in the long term, industry also, though, as educators, we must be primarily concerned with the value of the crafts as educational experiences. In his paper "Education and the Crafts: An Assessment of Values" Stuart Richmond argues that

> An analysis of 'craft' testifies to the central creative role of the craftworker, and shows how craft in its traditional 'making' sense forms an interrelated whole of means, ends and values. On this account craft can and in some industrialised countries does, play an important part in education, industry and the quality of life generally.[9]

Surely he is right.

May I suggest that rather than squeezing craft out of our syllabuses we should in fact increase their scope to include work in a rich array of materials - traditional and new - not only wood and metal but also leather, rush, textiles, clay, glass, plastics and fibreglass.

Another change in educational policy that has come about, in part at least, as a means of preparing children for the world of work has been the move towards the introduction of computer studies into the curriculum for all children. Theodore Roszak critically examines this whole trend in his book The Cult of Information which he tellingly subtitles The Folklore of Computers and the True Art of Thinking. He examines the situation as it exists in the United States and his analysis might, if it is not already too late, provide a warning for us. He examines the catchphrase 'computer literacy' a seemingly undeniable necessity in the Information Age. He argues that "the sequential procedures of computing do not constitute thought, and that excessive respect for those procedures will reduce human creative capacity".[10] It will also increase our technological dependence in world where we are at the mercy of more and more horrific technology.

More significantly he argues:

> Students who are being sold on computer literacy as an easy response to their job hunger are simply being deceived. What they are learning in a few computer lab experiences will not make them one iota more employable.
>
> Teachers who are falling back on flashy software as a convenient classroom entertainment are wasting their students' time and demeaning their own profession.[11]

Sadly there does appear to exist among pupils themselves, their parents and the public at large a misconception about all this so that the the value of a school is often perceived as being directly proportional to the amount of electronic equipment it has. Computer studies are seen in some sense 'relevant' - whatever that may mean.

Another response to unemployment has been the proliferation of Vocational Preparation courses involving work-experience. Now it might well be argued that a transition year involving, among other things, participation in some community work would be valuable for all pupils, but a programme for the weakest that is specifically aimed at the job market is, I shall argue, of doubtful value. To begin with I doubt if there is any evidence that such courses make any impact on the job market. The criticism I want to make however is of an educational nature. There is a real danger that some, at least of the courses offered pupils who are already disadvantaged are of negligible educational value. In fact it seems little short of cynical that such programmes in work preparation are aimed at the pupils who are least likely to gain employment and who are in danger of ending up without jobs and without education. Let us consider some aspects of some such programmes. If English which, taught through literature, might open avenues of interest and enjoyment and enhancement of spirit for the child for the rest of his life becomes instead a series of exercises in how to write applications for jobs or to fill in CV's or write letters of complaint etc., then the child is being sold short.

I am not, of course, saying that all work preparation courses are like this. In fact Kevin Williams and Gerry McNamara in their book The Vocational Preparation Course[12] specifically state that they see the course as a form of education and not as a narrow training for work. But there is no doubt that pupils and their parents perceive such courses as aimed at the job market. If the pupils do not get jobs is there not a danger that the courses themselves will have contributed to the pupils' feeling of diminished self-value. Many of them will have already perceived themselves as having failed academically, this further failure can only contribute to their increased alienation.

There is a danger too, in the whole idea of the Mini-Company that we, as educators seem to be endorsing the values and morals of the market place where the only questions to be asked are "will it sell?" and "does it make a profit?" Here, it seems to me that the subjects that suffer most are, again, the crafts - woodwork, metalwork, needlework, gardening - which have such potential for life enhancement. Instead of doing work that demands design and planning, skilled attention to detail, controlled physical effort and loving care, there is a danger of the pupil turning out one cheap-to-make, undemanding object because his "market-research" has shown that this will sell. This is sad. The first question that must be asked of any school programme is: 'is it good for human beings?' 'Is it good for the economy?' must for us educators always be a question of secondary importance.

One final area where it seems to me that there has been a change in emphasis as a response to unemployemnt is in the stress on qualifications. An article in the The Irish Press (18-11-86)

> The school curriculum was not relevant enough to modern life and schools were turning out pupils unsuitable for the labour market.

It quotes a report on 'Schooling and the Labour Market' by Damien Hannan research professor at ESRI which says that the chances of students with Leaving Certificate getting a clerical job had dropped to 37 per cent compared with 64 per cent in 1981. One would scarcely consider that research and statistics were necessary to make such a prediction. That such figures are quoted to indicate that if pupils were better qualified there would be more employment is either deliberately misleading or just plain stupid. Of course there are fewer office jobs and if the new technology even fractionally lives up to its promises there will be fewer still - just as there are fewer in agriculture, in industry and everyplace where it is possible for machines to do the jobs that were once done by people. And if there are fewer jobs there will always be some who are unemployed. And if employment depends on qualifications then the unemployed will be those who come at the bottom in any achievement tests.

We seem to have learned very little since Ronald Dore wrote The Diploma Disease in 1976. He said:

> Unfortunately not all schooling is education. Much of it is mere qualification earning. And more and more of it becomes so ...

> schooling is more often qualification-earning schooling than it was in 1920, or even in 1950. And more qualification earning is *mere* qualification earning-ritualistic, tedious, suffused with anxiety and boredom, destructive of curiosity and imagination - in short, anti-educational.[13]

Perhaps it is time that we as educators made a stance and returned to our real job of educating people - of engendering a love of learning, a fostering of curiosity, creativeness, craftsmanship. I am not denying the need for specialist vocational training. Of course doctors need to be trained in medicine, engineers in engineering, and so on, but firstly they need to be educated - and this is the function of the school. To be an educated person one needs to be introduced to our history, our literature, the aesthetic achievements of the past; to know about and appreciate and participate in man's inventiveness, diversity, creativeness, to be capable of critical thought, to have learned to know and love both the natural and the man-made environment. Only when one is educated in this way can one go on to be a good doctor or a good engineer or a good dust-man or a good human being.

From a purely pragmatic point of view there is a contradiction here. We are being told and indeed we can see from the evidence all round us that the world of work is rapidly changing and that the rate of change is accelerating; simultaneously attempts are being made to prepare pupils for the world of work as it is now. Surely these two things are incompatible and even form the point of view of preparation for work the broader and more flexible the education the better. By stressing the value of getting a job to the exclusion of other values we are dooming many of our less able pupils to failure and taking from them any sense of self-worth. Again, by stressing qualifications, aren't we ensuring that these same children will have nothing on which to build a concept of their own unique value as human beings.

However precise or specific our educational objectives and however appropriate our methods of assessment there is only one way to judge an education system and that is by the values as exhibited in the life styles of the people who have been through that education system. Karl Popper in his autobiography says:

> I shall be for ever grateful to my first teacher, who taught me the 3 R's. They are, I think, the only essentials a child has to be taught ... Everything else is atmosphere and learning through reading and thinking.[14]

He is right - for privileged children, like himself. But what of the rest? Certainly literacy and numeracy are crucial and we the teachers must also provide that atmosphere and foster learning and thinking. Are we happy that the people in our small country choose to live as one would expect a good education might help them to live? Or are many bored, destructive, unhappy, alienated not knowing how to live - slaves because they do not know how to be free. And if they are slaves have we contributed to the enslavement? As educators our task is to help children to develop as persons. We are not in the business of producing cogs for the economic machine. Our concern is with the unique value of the individual. John Passmore says of university education but his words are applicable to education at any level:

> If the ... ideal of maximum output is allowed to determine the policies of the universities, of science, of the arts, it will destroy not only humane feelings but the highest achievements of civilisation.[15]

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TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK
COHORT EVIDENCE FROM NORTHERN IRELAND ON POST-COMPULSORY SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCING FACTORS

Liz McWhirter, Ursula Duffy, Robert Barry
and Grace McGuinness

1. Introduction

Viewed against the backcloth of a severely depressed economic climate one area of educational policy in Northern Ireland stands out as being of central concern - what happens to young people between the mid and late teens when most of them leave the formal protective supports and structures of the school and venture out into the world as young adults (Degimbe, 1984).

Transition from school to work is not an event in the life of a young person. It is a multifaceted, dynamic and complex process which involves a shift from psychological, social and economic dependence to independence. The transition process is dependent upon the interaction of labour market opportunities and personal characteristics, abilities, skills and aspirations which are influenced by available opportunities.

The key transition policy for young people in Northern Ireland since 1982 is the Youth Training Programme (YTP) which developed from its predecessor the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). The programme is comprehensive. It offers a full-time combination of vocational training, work experience and education to those 16 and 17 year olds not yet in employment; additional training opportunities to young people in employment; and increased vocational preparation to those young people who remain in full-time education.

This paper explores the transition from education to the labour market as evidenced by an ongoing cohort study which was commissioned by the inter-departmental Executive on YTP. This Interdepartmental Executive comprises representatives from both the Department of Economic Development and the Department of Education for Northern Ireland (DENI). The context is thus education, vocational training and youth policy in Northern Ireland. A training scheme such as YTP (and its British counterpart the Youth Training Scheme - YTS) could be said to temporarily remove a person from the active job searching process but the Youth Training Programme also has the specific and dominant theme of vocational preparation - equipping young people through training and work experience so that they can better meet the skill and flexibility needs of a changing and technologically demanding labour market and thereby compete in it more successfully.

The paper will first outline briefly the main characteristics of the Cohort Study and then present selected data. One aim is to explore the patterns of education/labour market activities and career paths experienced by young people in Northern Ireland during their first post - compulsory education year. A second important goal is to attempt to examine the factors which influence the post-18 options and transition routes chosen by Northern Ireland youth. Throughout the paper coverage will be restricted very largely to the four principal education/labour market states since these include the vast majority of the young people in the study. These economic states are full-time education, full-time employment, YTP and registered unemployment.

2. The Cohort Study

The YTP Cohort Study (henceforward referred to as the Cohort Study) occupies a unique place in the history of research on young people in Northern Ireland, particularly in terms of the methodology and scope of the investigation. The general objective of the study is to establish the choices which young people make at the end of their compulsory education and in the three years thereafter and to identify the factors influencing their choices and the implications of the decisions which they make. Some assessment of the relative merit of post-16 routes is also being sought, as perceived by the young people themselves and also in terms of more objective measures.

The sample was drawn from 77 schools of which 17 were Secondary grammar, 59 were Secondary intermediate and one was a Further Education College. The 617 pupils in the cohort who attend Secondary grammar schools represented a 1 in 14 sample of the age cohort in Grammar schools, which the 2,223 pupils who attend Secondary intermediate schools represented a 1 in 9 sample of the age cohort in that type of school. Together with 50 pupils from the Further Education College, the initial sample included 2,890 young people. The bias in favour of secondary intermediate schools was designed to allow the examination of a wide range of transition routes from school to work. To date the young people have been seen on four occasions and will be interviewed once more to complete the study (Table 1).

Within the context of this paper it is important to note that the research is far from complete; to date it is possible only to assess the impact of experiences during first year post-compulsory education. Information on experiences in the second year post-compulsory education remains to be analysed and the more lasting effects of these to be assessed.

TABLE 1

YTP COHORT STUDY DETAILS

Fieldwork Stage	Date	Interview Venue	Age	Number	Response Rate (%)
1	Apr 84	School	15-16	2890	
2	Oct/Nov 84	Home	16-17	2745	95
3	Oct/Nov 85	Home	17-18	2490	91
4 A	Oct/Nov 86	Home	18-19	1593	88)
B	Dec 86	Postal	18-19	252	94) 87*
C	Jan/Feb 87	Home	18-19	320	82)

* This overall response rate takes account of 25 young people not contacted in a telephone/letter sift which preceded B and C.

3. Patterns of Activities

Of the young people participating in the cohort study more than half (52 per cent) were continuing their full-time education 2-6 months after reaching school-leaving age (i.e. October/November 1984). Another year later (October/November 1985) more than one-third (39 per cent) of the group were still pursuing this option. Grammar schools and further education colleges rather than secondary schools were the most usual institutions to be attended by young people opting to remain in full-time education beyond minimum school-leaving age (Table 2). This is especially true for young people beginning their second post-compulsory school year: only about one in ten of this group were in attendance at a secondary intermediate school compared to about half at grammar school and 40 per cent at further education college.

TABLE 2

TYPE OF SCHOOL/COLLEGE ATTENDED BY YOUNG PEOPLE IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION AT EACH STAGE OF THE STUDY

	STAGE		
	1	2	3
	APR 1984	OCT/NOV 1984	OCT/NOV 1985
SECONDARY	77	24	9
GRAMMAR	21	36	49
FE COLLEGE	2	38	40
OTHER	0	2	2
TOTALS	2890	1436	961

For those in the labour market at October/November 1984 the Youth Training Programme was the most usual destination followed by full-time work (Table 3). One year later, however, almost two thirds of those in the labour market were in full-time work. It would therefore appear that the main transition for young people in their first eighteen months in the labour market is from YTP into full-time work.

TABLE 3

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THOSE IN THE LABOUR MARKET

STAGE	F/T WORK	YTP	U/E	OTHER	TOTALS (% Cohort)
2. OCT/NOV 84	37	45	13	5	1309 (48)
3. OCT/NOV 85	63	17	17	3	1529 (61)

However, in order to explore in greater detail the dynamic nature of the transition process from school to adult and working life it is helpful to consider the profiles of the four economic states experienced by the young people over time, both overall and by the different groups according to sex, religious denomination, social background and academic qualifications. These are evidenced by data derived from a monthly diary of the main education/labour market activity being pursued by each young person. In order to correct for the initial sample bias in favour of secondary intermediate pupils the data has been weighted in order to reflect a representative picture of the age cohort in Northern Ireland.

Analysis of the diary activities showed the proportion of young people in full-time jobs to increase steadily over the 18 months following compulsory schooling while the other main labour market activities were affected by seasonal bumps. The main changes in the activity patterns of the young people occurred in September of each year. In September 1984 (2-6 months after young people had reached minimum school-leaving age) there was a substantial increase in the proportion of young people on YTP schemes. One year later (September 1985) the drop-out rates from the Youth Training Programme are mirrored by an increase in unemployment rates.

In addition to getting an initial global picture of the economic activities of the full cohort over the first year of post compulsory education, it is also valuable to consider the profile over time within each of the status

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1. Copies of the 15 graphs derived from the diaries are available from the authors.

groups in order to see the extent of flux or consistency in the transition process. Analyses have considered the diary profiles of young people who were in full-time education, full-time work, YTP and unemployment at September 1984. It is encouraging to note that in all three independent groups of 16 year old labour market entrants more are in full-time employment at the end of the first post-compulsory education year than are in YTP or on the dole. For these young people the initial autumn months seem to be a very unsettled period - all three activity groups show a marked drop from September to November. After this time of early flux those in the labour market who were fortunate enough to have found full-time jobs immediately after leaving school, those who remained in education, and those who were unemployed reveal a remarkably steady profile. The proportion of young people in YTP continued to drop steadily throughout the year.

4. Factors Influencing Post-16 Activities

The range of factors which potentially can influence the post compulsory-education options followed by young people is obviously very wide. The present paper focusses on the four important individual characteristics already considered: gender, religious denomination, social background and academic qualifications.

Analyses by sex support the well established fact that in Northern Ireland as in Great Britain (DENI, 1986) many more girls than boys remain in full-time education. The drop-out rate from education is similar, however, for both sexes in the study. The finding that more boys than girls are in work and on the dole also confirms research in Britain (Courtenay, 1986; Raffe, 1986). More boys than girls join YTP immediately after fifth form but their drop-out rate is faster than that of the girls. Boys gain jobs at a faster rate than girls.

The striking gender differences in post-16 education and work experiences reflect the young people's post-16 preferences and attitudes. When asked in fifth form to indicate their preferred post-16 activities more than twice as many girls (58 per cent) than boys (28 per cent) had stated that they wished to remain in education - either school or further education college. More boys (49 per cent) than girls (28 per cent) stated that they preferred work or work accompanied by further education or training (males 20 per cent, females 11 per cent). Attitudes to work as measured by a short work-involvement scale (Warr et al, 1979) were positive for both groups of fifth formers with a statistically significant difference in favour of the girls.

In addition to clear gender differences in post-16 economic activity the Cohort Study also reveals substantial differences in the status of the religious denominations, as determined by school attended which is a reliable proxy measure (see Livingstone, 1987). The Protestant young people in the study have been gaining jobs at a faster rate than their Catholic counterparts. It is thus not surprising to find that one year after the end of compulsory schooling a substantially greater proportion of the Protestants are in full-time jobs while slightly more of the Catholics are in YTP and on the unemployment register. More of the Catholics than the Protestants have remained in full-time education.

Interpretation of this data obviously hinges on the interaction of differing local economies, opportunity structures and young people's aspirations and expectations. Analyses of post-16 preferences expressed during fifth form, reveal only slight (non-significant) differences in the choices between the religious groups. Forty-five per cent of the Protestants and 48 per cent of the Catholics wished to remain in education, while 53 per cent of the Protestants and 49 per cent of the Catholics preferred to leave school at 16 and get a job. There were no significant differences in attitudes to work between the Protestants and Catholics, a finding which also occurred in an earlier study (Miller, 1984).

While sex and religious affiliation are undoubtedly important factors to be considered in the transition process in Northern Ireland, the type of home background a young person comes from is also influential. Analyses for social background using a composite social index which included social class, tenure of household and highest educational level of parents - derived from Osborne, Butler and Morris, 1984 - involved arbitrarily dividing the results - (range -4 to +2) into three levels: relatively advantaged(n=666), average for the cohort (n=1082) and relatively disadvantaged (n=720). A very clear relationship was observed between social background and remaining in full-time education beyond compulsory schooling. Those from the relatively advantaged home backgrounds were much more likely to remain in full-time education than were their counterparts from average and relatively disadvantaged backgrounds. It is also notable that for the first half of the immediate post-16 year substantially more of the disadvantaged group are in YTP than are in full-time jobs. This difference does not occur for the other two social groups.

TABLE 4

Results of Loglinear Analysis for Effects of Sex, Religion, Social Background and Academic Achievement on Economic Activity for the Cohort

FACTOR	LEVEL	STAGE THREE ACTIVITY				F-RATIO	D.F.	SIG.
		FT EDUC %	FT WORK %	YTP %	U/E %			
SEX	Males (n=1134)	29	47	12	13	20.62	3,120	***
	Females (n=1262)	49	32	10	8			
RELIGION	Protestants (n=1324)	36	45	9	10	17.80	3,120	***
	Catholics (n=1072)	43	32	13	12			
SOCIAL BACKGROUND	Advantaged (n=638)	58	31	6	6	9.21	6,120	***
	Average (n=1061)	41	41	9	8			
	Disadvantaged (n=696)	20	44	18	18			
ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT	5+ 'O'Levels (n=866)	79	15	2	3	79.66	9,120	***
	1-4 'O'Levels (n=657)	30	49	12	9			
	CSE Grade2-5 (n=547)	9	58	18	15			
	No CSE or 'O' (n=326)	3	52	21	25			

*** $p < 0.001$

N.B.

1. F-Ratio is calculated by dividing likelihood ratio chi-squared per degree of freedom by likelihood ratio chi-squared per degree of freedom for error term (i.e. base model).

2. Religion is based on school attended at Stage One of the Study.

3. Social Background is based on a composite score derived from father's occupation, parents' education and tenure of household.

Once again these differences are reflected in the post-16 preferences expressed prior to reaching minimum school leaving age. There is in fact a clear and reciprocal linear relationship between social class and preferences in fifth form for continuing education (advantaged 60 per cent, average 48 per cent, disadvantaged 29 per cent), for getting a job at age 16 (advantaged 39 per cent, average 49 per cent, disadvantaged 68 per cent), and also in attitudes to work.

A clear relationship was also observed between the highest level of qualification achieved by the young people (as defined in the Department of Education (NI) School Leavers Survey) and their post-compulsory school activities. Almost all of the better qualified group (i.e. the 49 per cent who had at least five 'O' level passes) opted to remain in full-time education on reaching school-leaving age. Most of this group, moreover, had stayed on at school/college into a second post-compulsory year. Of those in this group who left full-time education in the eighteen months post-compulsory education, most left to go into full-time work.

Full-time education was also the most usual route to be taken by the next most highly qualified group - the 35 per cent with 1-4 'O' level passes. A steadily increasing proportion of this group, however, moved into full-time work in the course of the academic year.

The picture to emerge for those with only CSE (13 per cent) or with no academic qualifications at all (2 per cent) is very different from that of the 'O' level groups in that there is considerably more movement between the different labour market activities. The principal direction of movement is form YTP into a full-time job. While, by the end of the eighteen month period about half of the young people from these less qualified groups had secured full-time work, the latter months show a gradual increase in the unemployment rates.

To date we have examined each of the four factors - sex, religious affiliation, social background and academic qualifications - separately. It could be suggested, however, that such a simplistic approach masks interactions and confoundings among these variables. [Catholics' disadvantage in the labour market, for example could be due to their having poorer qualifications and/or poorer home backgrounds, compared with their Protestant counterparts.] The effects of the four factors were therefore tested simultaneously in two separate log-linear analyses for their impact, firstly on the cohort's main education/labour market activity at stage 3 of the study, and secondly on the nature of the economic activity of those in the labour market at the same stage of the study (i.e. 14-18 months after reaching school leaving age) (McWhirter et al, 1987).

Interactions between the variables were not found to contribute significantly to economic activity. The main effects of the four factors were, however, all found to contribute significantly and independently to the young people's main activities. As seen in Table 4 females, Catholics, the better qualified and the social advantaged were all more likely than their counterparts to remain in full-time education beyond minimum school leaving age.

The analysis of those who had left school should not be viewed independently of the analysis in Table 4, as the composition of the groups in full-time education is

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TABLE 5

Results of Loglinear Analysis for Effects of Sex, Religion, Social Background and Academic Achievement on Economic Activity for those in the Labour Market

STAGE THREE ACTIVITY

FACTOR	LEVEL	FT WORK %	YTP %	U/E %	F-RATIO	D.F.	SIG.
SEX	Males (n=809)	65	17	18	0.69	2,80	NS
	Females (n=639)	64	20	17			
RELIGION	Protestants (n=841)	71	14	15	14.01	2,80	***
	Catholics (n=607)	56	23	20			
SOCIAL BACKGROUND	Advantaged (n=268)	73	13	13	5.45	4,80	***
	Average (n=622)	70	16	14			
	Disadvantaged (n=558)	55	23	22			
ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT	5+ 'O'Levels (n=176)	72	12	16	3.01	6,80	*
	1-4 'O'Levels (n=458)	70	17	13			
	CSE Grade2-5 (n=498)	64	19	17			
	No CSE or 'O' (n=316)	53	21	26			

NS $p > 0.05$ * $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.001$

N.B.

1. F-Ratio is calculated by dividing likelihood ratio chi-squared per degree of freedom by likelihood ratio chi-squared per degree of freedom for error term (i.e. base model).

2. Religion is based on school attended at Stage One of the Study.

3. Social Background is based on a composite score derived from father's occupation, parents' education and tenure of household.

related to the composition of the group entering the labour market. Bearing this important relationship in mind Table 5 shows that for those in the labour market at stage 3 of the study gender is not influential in determining what they are likely to be doing at around the age of seventeen. Similar proportions of males and females end up in full-time jobs, in YTP training or unemployed. Religious denomination, social background and academic attainment do, however, appear to play a significant part in determining how young people are in the labour market. Catholics, the poorly qualified and the socially disadvantaged are all less likely than their counterparts to have a full-time job.

The role of qualifications in the labour market found in the present study is in accord with recent results from the England and Wales Youth Cohort Study (see Labour Market Quarterly, November 1986, p. 6-7) and the findings of other recent studies on both youths (Raffe, 1986; Roberts et al, 1986) and adults (1985 Labour Force Surveys for Great Britain and Northern Ireland). Differences in educational qualifications and employment rates between young Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland have been the subject of considerable research (see, for example, Cormack and Osborne, 1983) but the present study is the first investigation to examine economic activities between the denominational groups whilst controlling for possible confounding factors including academic attainment and social background.

Whilst academic attainment has an obvious impact on improving young people's labour market chances, it does not by itself completely redress the social and religious imbalance which appears to exist with regard to employment opportunities for young people in Northern

Ireland. This merits further investigation but the fact that proportionately more Catholics than Protestants are remaining in full-time education after compulsory school leaving age could be expected to result, in due course, in greater success in the labour market.

Ongoing analyses on the Cohort Study include an examination of area of residence within the province, since there may be a greater prevalence of industry, and hence employment opportunities in 'Protestant areas'. Also of interest is an examination of the possibility of differential access to informal channels for obtaining work among the different groups of young people in the study (McWhirter et al, 1987). Other factors of relevance include the psychological impact of different post-compulsory school choices (McWhirter et al, 1986a), the extent to which school leavers are prepared for the world of adulthood and work (McWhirter et al, 1987) and the role of the Youth Training Programme in the transition from school to work in Northern Ireland (McWhirter et al, 1986b).

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THOUGHTS ON DISCIPLINE IN OUR SCHOOLS

Dermot Dunphy, Pauline Flanagan and Hugh Gash

Introduction

One can assume that people think about discipline in ways influenced by their own personal experiences of it. However, there the simplicity stops because one may either believe that the way one was disciplined is best or one may have concluded that an alternative is better. Or again one may have tried an alternative and concluded that the initial way was best. This is what happens with human experience viewed over periods of time, there are recurrent cycles coming and going. To make this concrete, there are at present in Ireland many people who question the wisdom of the ban on corporal punishment in our schools. Irish society has changed in the past generation and this is reflected in the behaviour of children. In attempting to account for this change some have blamed the introduction of the ban on corporal punishment. The Department of Education have not been idle in the face of the discussion of this question and their response to the situation is contained in the Report of the Committee on Discipline in Schools.[1] The present paper is based on two B.Ed. projects which were completed at St Patrick's College in 1986 by Dermot Dunphy and Pauline Flanagan. The purpose of these projects was to explore teachers' and pupils' responses to questions on how they feel about certain aspects of discipline, using questionnaires drawn up for this purpose. Additional details on the nature of the questionnaire are given below.

Survey 1. Rural Sample.

Twenty teachers and twenty-two sixth class children participated in the study. The teachers filled in a questionnaire, and the children (half of each gender) were interviewed individually using essentially the same questions.

Questionnaire

Generally the questions dealt with the definition of discipline, alternative ways of discipling children, attitudes to a code of discipline (such as has been advocated in the Department of Education report Discipline in Schools (1985), whether such a code existed in the school, the emotional meaning of discipline, and how discipline problems can be avoided.

Critical issues which will be discussed in this paper are: attitudes to discipline, perception of the emotional side of discipline, and how - in the eyes of teachers and pupils - discipline problems can be avoided.

Results

Attitudes to discipline.

The teachers reported that there was not a code of discipline in their school, overwhelming majorities** favoured the introduction of such a Code both in their schools and nationally.

Half of the teachers disagreed with the restriction of corporal punishment in the classroom. Nearly half of the teachers agreed that corporal punishment could be part of a formal code of discipline, with an additional fifth agreeing to this provided that it be restricted in

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** See note at end of paper.

some way (e.g. by the Principal, or only in certain cases). A minority of the teachers discussed discipline with the parents, and an overwhelming majority of the teachers saw the parents' attitudes to discipline as influencing the child.

The effort to see if teachers thought that children felt differently about discipline now as compared to before the ban was not successful since too many of the teachers qualified after 1982, nevertheless it may be suggestive that a small number thought that children felt differently if corporal punishment was not permitted.

A large majority of the children said that they knew what the word discipline meant, yet the words "corporal punishment" meant little to them since only a small minority admitted to knowing what the phrase meant. When the concept was explained using slapping as an example a large majority of the children said that they would be more afraid of a teacher who could slap. In terms of their perceptions of teacher discipline an overwhelming majority of the children reported that when a child was bold teachers gave verbal checks, isolation was less common, less common again and in descending order were being sent to the Principal, and extra work, with a few mentioning a parent being sought. Nearly all perceived others in the schools as involved in their disciplining (this was mostly other teachers and the remainder being the Principal). In comparing teachers and parents - a majority of the children saw the teacher being more strict than parents, a small minority saw the teacher as more strict, and a few saw parents and teachers as equally strict.

Finally there was an interesting discrepancy between the way teachers perceived the influence of peers in discipline problems: a majority of teachers rated this influence high or very high, whereas the children did not seem to be aware of this influence with only a few admitting to being influenced by peers. Perhaps this indicates that the children do not understand peer pressure at this age.

The emotional side of discipline

The teachers perceived a number of emotions to be involved in discipline, with fear holding the premier position, understanding next, and respect next (mentioned by half the teachers; fairness was mentioned by only a few as was love.

The emotions which the children perceived as being relevant to behaving well at home and at school were different. At home all the children said that they did what they were told out of respect, whereas at school a majority said that they obeyed rules because they understood them, with only a minority mentioning respect and interestingly only a few mentioning fear. All the children said that they would prefer to have rules at school and they gave a variety of reasons for saying that rules were needed: safety and keeping order were highest being mentioned by a third of pupils, then discipline and "needed to learn" at a fifth, and "needed to stop bullying" was mentioned by only a few of the sample.

Preventing problems

The teachers overwhelmingly indicated that they made every effort to make their lessons interesting and agreed that this was a major aid in avoiding discipline problems. The children all said that they paid attention when the lesson was interesting. The teachers indicated that a variety of other factors were needed besides the interesting lesson mentioning motivation, responsibility, busyness, smaller classes, consistency and participation, and a smaller number of teachers mentioned good exercises, non over-familiarity, punctuality, encouragement, parental help, and standing over the class.

Discussion

It is clear that the notion of codes of discipline as advocated in the Department's report has not yet been implemented for these rural teachers, and that they were ready to consider such a code at the time of the study. The children for their part were aware of the disciplinary context in their school, they understood why rules were needed in school, but their reasons for obeying rules in school were different than for obeying at home. Further exploration of this difference may shed light on ways in which the need for order in classrooms and schools can be communicated to the children. It is clear from these data that the teachers and children appear to view discipline differently. From a developmental view this is not surprising, however how to translate this into effective ways of organizing children's active participation in class remains a challenge for us.

Survey 2. Urban sample

Ten boys and ten girls from fifth and sixth classes were given a pupil questionnaire and five male and five female teachers were given a teacher questionnaire. Both pupils and teachers were in a inner city Dublin school with a third of the sample of pupils being in remedial classes.

Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire was to examine a number of issues about discipline such as whether there were differences between the attitudes of male and female teachers to corporal punishment, and whether boys and girls were treated differently when they misbehaved in school; to examine teachers' attitudes to corporal punishment now that there is a ban on such discipline techniques; to see if corporal punishment has disappeared, and finally to look at the children's reasons for behaving well at home and at school.

Results and Discussion

The verbal check was the most used and the most acknowledged form of discipline in school according to both the teachers and the pupils. There were interesting differences between the teachers' perception of the forms of discipline they used and the pupils' answer to "what does the teacher do if you are bold?" Teachers for example, nearly all said verbal check, a minority said deprivation of priviledges, a small minority said isolation, a few said send to the Principal, and a majority said they would give extra work, with none saying they would use corporal punishment. The large majority of the children agreed that teachers used verbal checks, but equally large numbers said they would be isolated from the class, and a majority said that they would be sent to the Principal or would be given extra work, a small minority said that detention would be given, and a few said they would be ridiculed. Interestingly a small minority mentioned receiving physical punishment (slightly larger numbers of boys mentioning this than girls).

Nearly all the children saw other teachers as being involved in discipling them, and a minority of them saw the Principal as disciplining them, a few referred to the lollipop man as discipling them and a few said that the Priest disciplined them. Over half of the children said they do what they are told at home or at school because of "fear", two-fifths of them said because they "understood rules" in school but only one-tenth gave this reason for home, and "out of respect" was mentioned by a third of the children at home but only by a few at school. There seems to be an interesting difference in this pattern and that found in the rural sample discussed above.

There was a Code of Discipline in the school. In terms of their use of this code a few of the teachers mentioned availing of the Sin Bin, a similar number mentioned giving extra work and deprivation of priviledges, and a large majority spoke of sending to the Principal, or mentioned called in the parents. To put this in context four-fifths of the teachers said they rarely resorted to this Code with one-fifth saying they resorted to it frequently. While all the teachers felt that all schools ought to have a code of discipline, only two-fifths of the teachers felt it was sufficient, with the remaining ones thinking that the code was lacking. A majority of the teachers agreed with the ban of corporal punishment in schools. Nearly all the teachers said that they discussed discipline problems with the children's parents, and further most of these felt that this was helpful.

Closer examination of teacher attitudes on corporal punishment showed that two-fifths of the male teachers as opposed to one-fifth of the female teachers didn't agree with the exclusion of corporal punishment from schools. Further, four-fifths of these male teachers said that they would agree to having corporal punishment in a formal code of discipline, whereas all the female teachers disagreed with this. A large majority of the teachers saw a change in the children's attitude to discipline since the ban came into effect.

Although a large majority of teachers agreed to the restriction of corporal punishment in the class, only a minority have found an adequate replacement for it and a majority find the school's code of discipline "lacking". Further a large majority of teachers find a difference in children's attitudes to discipline since the abolition of corporal punishment with a few teachers mentioning that children will remind them of the ban from time to time.

There are again interesting differences in the child's perception of reasons for being obedient at home and at school. These children were much more willing to break the rules to do things that they wanted to do in school than at home (half versus one-tenth). However, the pattern of parent child interaction may be quite different in the rural and urban samples in that one-third of the children mentioned being hit at home for misbehaviour, and fear was a reason given by a majority of these children for doing what they were told at home. However, more direct comparisons cannot be given from these data because the questionnaires were slightly different.

Conclusions

This paper is based on two studies using small samples and so our findings can only be suggestive. Perhaps the most interesting findings are the dissatisfaction expressed by the teachers with the present situation and the clear indications that the children understand school discipline in a different way from home discipline.

There is room for more detailed work to be done on the nature of teacher dissatisfaction with discipline in their schools. Are there discrepancies, for example, between discipline techniques used in the home and school? If there are then this may make it harder for teachers. It would be interesting to see if this is the case and if this is why a proportion of the present samples favoured corporal punishment in some form.

There appear to be differences in the pupils' reasons for behaving in school and home and this differs in city and country schools. Might this be apart of the reason for the different discipline climates in different schools? Teachers themselves may be promoted by these findings to examine the meaning discipline has in their own classrooms for their pupils. It may be that there is a discrepancy between the teachers and the pupils' perceptions of this reasoning and it would be instructive for teachers to know this.

Finally it is probably worthy of further research to see if children in primary schools are unaware of peer pressure as indicated in these data.

We will finish with some guidelines given to parents who sought help for home discipline problems. It would seem that there ought to be analogies between discipline techniques and their consequences in families and in classrooms, though of course it is acknowledged that there may be some important differences in the process in the different locations. (A fuller discussion of the effects of family strategies on the developing child may be found in Maccoby and Martin).[2]

Training for what is called authoritative parenting has been tried by the Patterson group to remedy family conflicts, see for example Patterson.[3] The programme of child management developed by this group involves the following facets: clear understandings of what is to be considered acceptable behaviour, careful monitoring of children's behaviour, consistent contingencies for the child's behaviour, and studious avoidance of "sibling behaviour" on the part of parents (getting into screaming matches with the children), careful emphasis of positive contingencies for the child when the child gets things right, (it is thought that parents are poor at reinforcing correct behaviour so the child gets fuzzy about what is right.)

It is hoped that these guidelines could be shown to be useful to teachers in dealing with their discipline problems.

** In the interest of clarity and because the numbers are small in these studies the following adjectival phrases may be translated as follows: an overwhelming majority is over 85%, a large majority is over 65%, a majority is over 50%, a minority is between 35% and 50%, a small minority is between 15% and 35% and a few is less than 15%.

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STRESS - FACT OR FICTION? A STUDY OF PERCEIVED STRESS IN A COEDUCATIONAL SECOND-LEVEL SCHOOL IN RURAL IRELAND

Bridie Barnicle

The impetus for the study described in this paper was provided originally by incessant references by parents, psychologists and sociologists to the degree of worry, stress and anxiety experienced by young people. Extremes of adolescent manifestations of dissatisfaction and alienation are highlighted by the media in a dramatic manner. Accounts are given regularly of the drug phenomenon; teenage joy riders; abuse by young people of the police force and those in authority; attacks by youth on the old and vulnerable.

Recourse by young people to alcoholic drink, drugs, sexual promiscuity, criminal and anti-social activity and indeed suicide have been viewed as a means of coping with an inordinate and at times unbearable degree of stress and anxiety in their lives. The following situations have been suggested as possible causes of adolescent dissatisfaction, alienation and distress.

(1) the disappearance of a permanent and pensionable job as a reward for academic success;

(2) the competitive nature of second-level education, in particular the academically orientated curriculum and associated points rating system for entry to university;

(3) the rate of social and technological change coupled with economic and political unrest;

(4) the lack of an effective programme of personal and social education in second-level schooling;

(5) pressure from peers to act in an anti-social manner which involves drug or alcohol usage and lack of the coping skills required for coping with such pressure;

(6) the increasing prevalence of marital disharmony and breakdown with the consequent unhappiness, insecurity and pressure imposed on the families concerned.

It is the opinion of the present researcher that in all this cross-current of opinion an absence of careful scientific research into the actual perceived sources of adolescent stress is evident. This absence has afforded the media representative, the political, the trendy ideologue a platform to hypothesise in an unsubstantiated way on "possible" causes of adolescent stress, and its manifestations in delinquency, drug and alcoholic abuse and anti-social acts.

Consequently, this study set out to:

(1) determine whether young people in a particular sample of 216 students attending a coeducational second-level school in rural Ireland actually experienced the reported storm and stress depicted in psychoanalytic and popular literature [1] and, if so, whether levels of stress experienced showed a developmental trend, that is, increased or decreased from ages 12 through 18;

(2) identify the main sources of perceived stress in the sample of students attending this particular school;

(3) ascertain any correlations that were found to exist between level of stress and level of self-esteem among the respondents.

A secondary major aim of this study was to initiate the development of a stress measuring instrument which would be culturally and linguistically suited to an Irish population and which may, with further refinement, become a useful diagnostic tool whereby sources of stress (academic, social and personal) can be identified quickly and simply in young people.

I Definition of Terms

Stress is a multi-faceted phenomenon involving cognitive, affective, physical and behavioural components elicited by a variety of situations. Stress occurs when a particular situation is perceived as threatening to ones psychological or physiological well-being. It is accompanied usually by negatively-toned emotions such as nervousness, tension, feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and even acute depression.

Despite its widespread usage the term stress lacks any agreed definition. However, the following definition by McGrath was considered suitable for the purposes of this study. According to McGrath:

> stress has to do with a (perceived) substantial imbalance between demand and response capability under conditions where failure to meet demand has important (perceived) consequences.[2]

Failure to meet academic demands, social demands and parental expectations as well as coping with his own needs as a developing adolescent could be assumed to have important perceived consequences for the young person attending secondary school.

Self-Esteem

Anything related to the person, for example, physical appearance, academic achievement, peer status is liable to be evaluated by the self. The following definition of self-esteem was considered appropriate for this study:

> The evaluation that the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds. [3]

High self-esteem is satisfying, fulfilling and pleasurable; low self-esteem the opposite. Persons with high self-esteem are usually accepting of themselves; whereas those with low self-esteem attribute negative values to themselves and have little self-acceptance or self-respect. Numerous studies offer overwhelming evidence of a positive relationship between level of self-esteem and academic achievement. Consequently teacher sensitivity to, and enhancement of, student self-esteem can have important far-reaching educational and developmental consequences.[4]

II Methodology of the Study

A. The Sample

The total complement of 216 pupils (136 females and 80 males) from a coeducational secondary school on the outskirts of a small town in rural Ireland constituted the sample. Ages ranged from twelve years to eighteen years and ten months. Over 60 per cent of pupils lived on what are generally referred to as small "mixed farms" in rural Ireland. The majority of the 216 subjects came from large families. 85.2 per cent of respondents' mothers were stay-at-home housewives while 11.4 per cent held positions outside the family home.

B. Instruments

1) Variable: Stress

Type of Measure: A 90-item questionnaire.

Description of Test. As there was no stress scale available that was considered suitable for an Irish student population, it was necessary to adopt and extend existing British Stress inventories for use in this study. Modification and further development of the British inventories was considered necessary because, due to cultural, religious and terminological reasons, it could not be assumed that Irish students encounter identical stressors as their British counterparts. Therefore, the stress scale employed in this study consists of carefully selected items from

1) A 50 item questionnaire used by Dobson in identifying sources of sixth form stress.[5]
2) The Student Stress Inventory: Sixth Form Version.[6]
3) A Stress Inventory for Children,[7] and
4) Items elicited from an Irish second-level school population. It should be noted that while the British Inventories referred to were concerned mainly with school-related issues, the "Irish" stress scale[8] included items involving personal and social aspects of student life in addition to school and academic issues - 66 of the 90 items are "Irish" items.

A special face sheet was prepared for the Irish inventory which sought to obtain certain demographic and socio-economic information for the purpose of cross-correlations. An additional item (Section C) which asked "To what extent, both inside and outside of school do you feel that there is a certain amount of stress attached to being a student preparing for a public examination like the Intermediate Certificate or Leaving Certificate?" was included. This item was intended as an indication of self- reported student stress and was used to establish the construct validity of the other ninety items.

Responses to the 90-item questionnaire are given on a four point scale on which respondents are instructed to encircle a number from "0" (no stress at all) to "3" (extreme stress). Items are given the same weight as the number which subjects encircle for each individual item. Thus, the maximum score is 270; the minimum is zero. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient for this stress instrument was 0.99. Three criteria set out to establish its validity were met. The test was administered by the researcher within normal school hours to the five different year groups during the last week in May 1984.

2) Variable: Self-Esteem

Type of Measure: A shortened version of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory consisting of 25 items. This inventory is intended to measure global self-esteem and refers to students' self-attitudes in four areas: peers, parents, schools and personal interests. It was hypothesised that stress would be negatively but significantly related to self-esteem, that is, as stress increases, self-esteem decreases or vice versa.

Analysis Procedure

Responses to the inventories were entered in the DEC 20 computer in Trinity College, Dublin. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).[9] Frequencies, percentages,means and standard deviations, correlations, the significance of differences between means (t - values) and factor analysis were obtained using standard SPSS procedures.

Research Findings

The research findings will be presented under the following headings:

1. suitability of the measuring instrument employed in this study.
2. students' reportage of claimed stress.
3. significance of difference between means (t - values).
4. factor analysis.

1) Suitability of the Measuring Instrument

The following criteria put forward to establish the validity of the stress instrument were met.

(1) A significant negative correlation was found between stress and self-esteem ($r = -0.28p = .0001$).

(2) A significant positive correlation was found between the total stress scores and a measure of self-reported student stress (Section C).

(3) Sixty-two of the 90 items in the inventory correlated significantly with self-reported student stress. A higher proportion of items in the Irish inventory (69 per cent) correlated significantly with Section C than in Dobson's study (58 per cent).

Youngman states that no matter how novel or specialised a measuring instrument is, the fact that it is used in a particular piece of research "implies that certain relationships involving the attribute concerned are already known or suspected".[10] As outlined above, the "expected relationships" did emerge, thereby rendering this instrument valid for this study.

Students' reportage of claimed stress

It is of interest to note from Table 1 that a non-examination class, second year, had the highest mean stress score of all five groups. This group was considered to be the most troublesome group in the school. The air of bravado that prevailed among this group would lend support to the notion that bravado and jollity are often used quite effectively to mask increased stress and anxiety.

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses to Sources of Stress

	X	SD
Total sample	96.713	39.95
Male	90.41	36.96
Female	160.49	41.29
First Year	95.97	39.19
Second Year	101.16	46.15
Third Year	98.38	40.26
Fifth Year	91.25	35.94
Sixth Year	93.30	31.42

The 25 highest stress factors are listed in rank order, in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Responses to Sources of Stress by the total sample in rank order (1-25)

Rank Order	Item No	$\bar{X}$	SD	Males and Females (Total 216) Item
1.	40	2.130	1.003	The fact that my whole future depends on the results of one examination.
2.	02	2.037	0.789	Worry about examinations.
3.	53	1.907	0.917	The fact that I may not get a job when I leave school.
4.	54	1.796	0.913	The unemployment situation generally.
5.	12	1.852	0.877	Personal problems.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

6.	36	1.713	0.916	Feeling guilty about letting my parents down.
7.	49	1.586	0,923	What others think of me.
8.	90	1.551	0.978	Appearing foolish to others.
9.	77	1.521	1.521	The impossibility of doing the required amount of homework because each teacher expects me to concentrate on his/her subject.
10.	37	1.460	1.057	My worth as a person being judged according to the number of honours subjects I am doing.
11.	83	1.444	1.051	Parents who are over-anxious about examination results.
12.	28	1.435	0.991	No time for sports or leisure activities because of the amount of homework required.
13.	03	1.431	0.854	Too much homework to do each evening.
14.	17	1.423	1.015	Worry about problems at home.
15.	38	1.414	1.037	Adults who treat me like a child.
16.	15	1.398	0.873	Difficulty in understanding questions in tests and examinations.
17.	48	1.395	0.999	Feeling of loneliness.
18.	88	1.317	0.962	Constant pressure from parents to get on in life.
19.	27	1.361	0.884	Not knowing how to study properly.
20.	66	1.350	1.036	Worry about nuclear warfare.
21.	5	1.340	1.010	Being ridiculed in front of the class by teachers.
22.	69	1.336	0.939	Examination syllabuses too broad in some subjects.
23.	86	1.335	0.952	Concern about my health.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

24.	85	1.329	1.034	Abusive and sarcastic remarks by teachers.
25.	89	1.316	0.934	System of evaluation (marking) for school work.

Summary of main findings

From an analysis of Table 2 it could be concluded that the main sources of stress in this particular sample are related to:

i) Concern about examinations in general, and in particular, the perceived far-reaching futurisic consequences and implications of the results of one examination, the Leaving Certificate;

ii) the unemployment situation generally and in particular, the fact that respondents may not get a job on leaving school;

iii) pressures imposed by parents in connection with: (a) examination results; (b) being successful in one's future career; and (c) lack of understanding of the difficulties encountered in being a student attending secondary school;

iv) homework difficulties, particularly in relation to the amount of homework given which interferes with leisure activities;

v) self- other image - what others think of one. This issue is strongly related to the self-esteem variable which was also investigated in this study;

vi) teacher-pupil relationships, particularly with regard to ridicule or abusive remarks by teachers, and student fear of asking questions;

vii) lack of effective meaningful communication with (a) parents, (b) peers and (c) teachers which ensues in "feelings of loneliness" and possible alienation;

viii) study-skills and difficulty in understanding questions in tests and examinations;

ix) personal problems and inability to share personal difficulties;

x) domestic issues, for example, rows between parents which ensue in "worry about problems at home" thereby exasperating stress in connection with school-related issues.

Significance of Difference between Means

Significance of difference between the means of all year groups was ascertained by using the t-test procedure. However, no statistically significant differences were found between: (a) all five year groups and (b) males and females. Therefore, it can be concluded that no developmental trend exists among participants in this study in their perceptions and experiences of stress.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis was conducted using the SPSS program. Scores for each subject were inter-correlated using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients. The correlation matrix which emerged was subjected to Principals components method of analysis. The programme used computed figures for a varimax rotated factor matrix. Eight factors were extracted and labelled.

In order to render the data more interpretable, arbitary semantic labels which encapsulated the inherent characteristics of each cluster of factors are presented in Table 3.

Items which loaded on to Factor 1, labelled the Achievement Factor appeared to reflect student fear with regard to the future emanating from fear of school related failure. A vague underlying sense that one's self-worth is intrinsically related to academic success or failure seems to be the underlying characteristic of this factor. Factor 2, the Addiction Factor was concerned with peer pressure to engage in anti-social activities coupled with distress caused by parental alcoholic tendencies.

TABLE 3

Factors Identified by Factor Analysis of Items in the Inventory

Factor Number	Factor Label	Percentage of Variance %
1	Achievement	54.9
2	Addiction	10.8
3	Lack of Personal Space	8.9
4	Adolescent Developmental Problems	7.3
5	Adult Communication	5.2
6	Victim	4.7
7	Parental Demands	4.3
8	Danger	4

Within the limits of this paper it is not possible to elaborate on the remaining factors identified.

Some Educational and Counselling implications and Recommendations

This study raises some important issues for the educationalist and guidance counsellor.

i) The importance of an active awareness of the pervasiveness of stress, particularly in relation to the evaluative nature of the examination system, which may reasonably be assumed to exist among students right through their second-level education.

ii) The need for continuous assessment which may ease the stress and anxiety which is associated with public examinations.

iii) The reduction of the competitive aspect which is perceived to exist particularly in relation to presenting for "pass" or "honours" subjects in public examinations.

iv) The avoidance of fostering in students the notion that individual worth is solely dependent on academic success or failure.

v) The provision of specific programmes and structures for the teaching of effective study skills and examination techniques.

vi) The importance of communication between school staff, particularly in relation to the amount of homework given and teachers' attitudes to students.

vii) The need to develop the affective in conjunction with the cognitive aspect of personality.

viii) An acknowledgement of the need to educate young people to cope with "unemployment".

ix) The importance of equipping young people with adequate lifeskills such as the social skills of communication, self-presentation, time management, decision-making and dealing with interpersonal relationships. Such skills enhance self-esteem, reduce levels of stress, thus empowering young people to play a positive enriching role in society.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study may be of help to educationalists, school counsellors and psychologists in detecting and helping young people whose emotional, social and academic lives are beset by stress and low self-esteem, as well as inspiring further research into the phonomenon of stress, its sources and manifestations.

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VALUES CLARIFICATION AS A METHODOLOGY IN MORAL EDUCATION

Ann C. Breslin

Introduction

The focus of this paper is on Values Clarification as a methodology in Moral Education. I want to be very clear at the start that by moral education I do not mean religious education. This is a distinction I shall make in the body of the paper, but at this point I shall describe moral education as education for Justice, understood as respect for the human rights of all people and respect for oneself.

A second introductory remark indicates that my approach is from the psychology of moral education, and not from that of other specialist areas such as theology or philosophy.

Thirdly, for the most part, reference will be made to the adolescent age group, since in this country the debate about Values Education has been largely focussed on programmes developed for post-primary schools.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT CONTROVERSY

A concern about moral education becomes all the more relevant in times of anxiety about public manifestations of immoral and anti-social behaviour. A glance at any daily paper will reveal many examples of a diminished morality and a crime-threatened society. These and other concerns have generated vigorous discussions about the entire area of moral education. Various groups uphold opposing views on character formation, sex education, values clarification and moral development, to mention the topics most frequently under discussion.

Contents, Methods, Agents

In some cases, the focus of the controversy is the Content of values education.

1. What values should be considered?
2. Are there objective and immutable values, or are values relative to persons, cultures and situations?

In other cases, the debate is about the Method of values education. Should values be taught explicitly, as a list of virtues to be practised, or should values be developed through a process of reasoning? Can adolescent students be allowed to clarify or reflect on their values without condemning these young people to "wander around" in the area of relativism?

Another focus of the discussion centres on the Agents of values education. Is this area predominantly, or even exclusively, the domain of Religious Institutions, or to what extent may secular educators take responsibility for values that are not intrinsically religious?

A. THE CONTENT DEBATE

Here I shall examine four areas most frequently discussed during the current controversy.

1. Values, kinds of values
2. Religion and Morality
3. Religious and Moral Education
4. Humanism

1. Values; kinds of values

A working definition of a value is "a norm or principle by which we live".[1] A value is thus more behaviour-orientated than a belief or an attitude.

Kinds of values

The term "values" is so often linked with "morality" that one sometimes omits from the category of values other areas of decision-making, e.g., those which relate.

to friendship: "Should I make friends with these influential people or with these really kind but insignificant people?"
to leisure: "Do you prefer gardening to fishing?"
to economics: "Is a limited company better than a co-operative?"
to education: "Shall we drop Latin in favour of Science?"
to marriage: "Should I marry miserly but masterful Michael, or generous but gentle Joe?"

In these, and other situations, important value choices have to be made, choices which may profoundly affect one's career, one's marriage or one's mental health. However, for the present argument, these values may be classified as "non-moral" in content, although it is clear that many moral ramifications may ensue from behaviour related to such value choices.

We refer to other values as "moral" values, since they more directly affect one's respect for self, one's respect for others, and perhaps, the welfare of society. They may also, in the case of religious people, relate to their religious convictions. Such moral values comprise behaviours such as honesty, fidelity in marriage, fairness, and, in the intrinsically religious domain, prayer, obedience to God's will, penance and many others.

Very little controversy surrounds the clarification of values such as those I first listed and names as "non-moral", (Friendship, Economics, Education, etc.) even though these values underpin a large segment of everyday life. Most of the controversy has been focussed on those I have classified as *moral*. However, it is important to consider all the above-mentioned values, and to be conscious that preparation for life entails reflection upon and clarification of both "non-moral" and "moral" values.

2. Religion and Morality

The term "Religion" refers basically to a dialogue with God or the Transcendent, while the term "Morality", in essence, refers to people's just responses to human needs. However, in most societies, some form of religion permeates the lives of a large number of citizens. Since, in general, Religious Institutions have developed moral codes consistent with their view of the Transcendent, many adherants of these faiths view their personal moral code as inseparable from the prescriptions of their Religious Institution.

In any discussion of Religion and Morality in even a minimally pluralist society, one is aware of the possible co-existence of at least three groups of people who give different emphases to the basis for their morality:

(a) First are those who have developed a moral code based on an awareness of the tenets of Natural Law*, but who do not follow a religious orientation. Such a group would hold that certain actions are moral because they are intrinsically so, and not because they are declared to be moral by any Religious Institution.

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*Natural Law holds that there are universal or natural principles of justice which should guide all societies, and which are known to people by reason, independently of specific religious revelation. The term will be used in this wide context and not within the more specific categories of, for example, Thomistic analysis.

(b) Then there are those who have developed a moral code based on principles of Natural Law, but who also find that these principles are made more meaningful by their religious beliefs.

(c) Thirdly, there are those whose entire moral code derives only from the prescriptions of their Religious Institution. Although persons in this group may, in the final analysis, recognise as valid the code of Natural Law morality, nevertheless, from their religious faith and their commitment to their Church, they argue that only limited morality is possible without religion. For this group then, moral decisions are made entirely on the basis of their faith and their obedience to the prescriptions of their Religious Institution.

Natural Law morality is thus a "common denominator" for the above three groups of persons, and is consequently basic to the human, social and religious development of all. As I have said, human development is often supported and enriched by religious beliefs. However, where religious belief has died, a Natural Law code may prevent the formation of a moral vacuum, where no moral criteria are recognised or followed.

3. Religious Education and Moral Education

Religious education draws attention to God and to a Transcendent sphere of life, to the doctrines, and prescriptions of one's Church or Religious Institution. Such education deals with rules about religious observance (when, how often, and in what frame of mind one ought to worship). It also explores the degree to which Religious prescriptions about behaviour extend, not only to responsibility for personal wholeness and health, but also to the wholeness, health and welfare of other people and of the entire planet.

In so far as much of religious education deals with specific doctrines, dogmas, ritual and scripture, it is an area of expertise which, in the school context, is best handled professionally by catechists or by other persons with theological and appropriate pedagogical training.

Moral education, however, is not a specific "subject" in the curriculum. It is the responsibility of every teacher, in all schools, whether or not the schools are affiliated to any Religious Institution. One powerful vehicle of moral education is the ongoing "hidden" or "latent" curriculum, that is, all that goes on in the organisation, management and interactions within the school. In the formal curriculum, moral education covers an immense area, including, for example, ecology, politics, conservation, human rights, peace, population control, health, parenthood, arms, war, etc. Religious education may cover and illuminate some or all of the above topics, and analyse them in the light of the Gospel or other religious revelation, but the topics just mentioned do not constitute religious "content" in the same way as do, for example, the Sacraments, Dogmas, and Grace in Catholic religious education.

Perhaps the most succinct way of relating the two is to say that Moral Education and Religious Education have in common all moral interactions between persons, but that Religious Education, in addition, is responsible for faith matters relating to one's Religious Institution.

4. "Humanistic" Moral Education

It is in the broad sense of having responsibility for pupils' human development and for their awareness of the welfare of others and of the planet, that Moral Education has been classified under the umbrella term of "humanistic" education. The term "humanism" has often been used pejoratively, and has been arbitrarily linked with extreme philosophical positions such as those expressed in the "Humanist Manifesto" of fifty years ago.[2] However, the term has been used in educational programmes in this country as approximating to the dictionary definition: "having an interest in the welfare of people". This abstract definition may be concretised as "Respect for oneself and for others". Such a focussed interpretation is in keeping with Christ's reduction of the Ten Commandments to two: "Love God, and thy neighbour as thyself", implying that love of Self and of the Other are intertwined in the fully Christian Life.

However, among unbelievers, love of the neighbour and of the self still remain the core of morality, i.e., to act in an inhuman way is to be immoral, and conversely, to act in a fully human way is to be moral.

B. THE METHODOLOGY DEBATE

Next, I shall refer to the Methodology Debate and briefly describe the Behaviourist and Developmental Approaches to Moral Education.

Behavourist and Developmental Approaches

Another root of the values controversy lies in two divergent theories of personal maturation. One is the Behaviourist model, as developed by the "Character Training" school of B.F. Skinner.[3] The second is the

Developmental theory, as outlined by Jean Piaget[4] and later by Lawrence Kohlberg.[5]

1. The Behaviourist Methodology of Moral Education

Following Skinner and Pavlov, Behaviourists hold that human actions can be modified and trained by reinforcement techniques. Some theorists go so far as to say that the adult conscience is a set of conditioned responses built up in childhood by stimulus-response methods. Children are regarded as passive learners, and teaching consists of programming these passive young people to be conforming adults.

The Behaviourist school of education shows more concern with good habits of conduct than with moral reasoning. The content of morality is presented by a list of specific virtues, e.g., promptness, truthfulness, courtesy, obedience. The formation of these virtues, as habits, requires consistent positive or negative reinforcement.

Thus, the Behaviourist method of character training is not one of questioning and critical thinking, as occurs in the Developmental model, but proceeds by a directive method of inculcating values.

2. The Developmental Theory of Moral Education

This theory, based on the earlier work of Jean Piaget, has been developed by Lawrence Kohlberg, Professor of Moral Education at Harvard University. It takes into account the natural development of human understanding, from the limited and concrete perspective of the young child to the wider conceptual range of the adult, who is capable of abstract thought and comprehension of principles. Kohlberg's research has shown that people progress gradually through the following stages of moral reasoning or judgment:

Stage 1. Actions are judged to be good if punishment is avoided.

Stage 2. Actions are judged to be good if they obtain rewards.

Stage 3. Actions are judged to be good if they gain the approval of "Significant Others".

Stage 4. Actions are judged to be good if they are in keeping with obligations of justice, respect, fairness to oneself and to others.

Clearly, then, moral "judgements" and their resultant behaviour are of only limited morality at the early stages, (1 - 3), where the motivation for "good behaviour" is to avoid punishment, to gain reward or to please significant and powerful others. Similarly, in religious development, less mature stages are seen where "good" religious acts are interpreted as those which help one to avoid hell, to gain heaven or to "please" God or a revered holy person. Even at the fourth stage, when morality is defined as "whatever the law dictates is good", the person may be trapped in legalism, and may be unable to distinguish just laws from those that are unjust. It is the aim of moral education to help persons to pass through the less mature stages to a point where they can have as their moral criterion not, "what the law says" but, "whatever is in keeping with justice", that is, with "respect" and "fairness". Thus, the moral reasoning inherent in the Developmental approach helps young people to grasp the intrinsic moral principles of Justice.

Values inculcation, by contrast, gives no tools by which people can make moral judgements without referring to rules and laws. Neither are the products of such a doctrinaire approach empowered to respond to unforeseen circumstances which require the application of moral principles. Young people brought up by moralizing adults do not get a chance to examine what they value, and why they hold these values. Thus, even in religious education, the unreflective inculcation of values may be self-defeating.

It is in this context that I shall look at Values Clarification as a method of reflecting on one's values.

VALUES CLARIFICATION

The various techniques to which I shall refer have been derived from Sidney Simon's book on Values Clarification.[6] This methodology is not new in these islands: it was central to the "Northern Ireland Schools' Cultural Studies Project" [7] whose aim was to "cultivate and increase sensitivity, tolerance, and mutual understanding in social relations among pupils in Northern Ireland". Values Clarification techniques have also been used in a more recent publication, Francis McCrickard's *Love Matters*, a manual for sex education in Catholic post-primary schools.[8] In several respects Values Clarification techniques have been used by those of us who have been teachers of literature: many values have been debated in judging between the lines of action followed by Brutus and Mark Anthony, or by Hamlet and Horatio. We have used values clarification techniques in preparing pupils for debates, where they argue value positions which are diametrically opposed. One of the first debates I prepared over twenty years ago, was on the topic: "Woman's place is in the home" - and it is still a matter for debate among feminists, trade unionists and clerics!

However, it must be recognised that Values Clarification is limited to being a teaching methodoldogy, and is not an explicit statement of a philosophy of life. As a methodology, it does not create a person's values, nor does it study ethical values as would a philosopher or a theologian. Rather, Values Clarification helps the individual to identify and reflect upon the values by which she/he is actually living. This process of "reflecting on" is, in fact, at the core of clarification.

The first step in Values Clarification is the identification of a value, as distinct from an ideal, a pious wish to an echo of someone else's opinions. As mentioned earlier, values are beliefs or principles that shape one's behaviour. Sidney Simon has outlined seven characteristics of a "fully developed value" as distinct from an emerging value, a belief or an attitude. According to Simon, a value must be;

1. Chosen freely.
2. Chosen from among alternatives.
3. The effects of various alternatives must be considered.
4. The value must be acted upon.
5. It must be acted upon repeatedly and consistently.
6. It must be cherished, or prized, by the individual.
7. It must be publicly affirmed where relevant and appropriate. [9]

The above seven steps can be summarized into three general areas: Choosing Freely, Affirming Publicly, Acting Consistently.

Values Grid

A basic exercise in the Values Clarification methodology, "The Values Grid", helps students to test their espoused "values" by the seven criteria already outlined. Unless their declared "values" fulfil the first seven criteria, as listed across the "Grid",

VALUES GRID

	CHOOSE			PRIZE		ACT		MORAL CRITERIA		
Issues	Chosen Freely	Chosen from Alternatives	After Considerations	Proud	Affirmed	Acted on	Acted with Repetition	Others	Self	God

Values Clarifiction: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students (p.35)
Sidney Simon, Leland W. Howe, Howard Kirchenbaum.

students may recognise some level of discrepancy between what they declare to be a value, and the extent to which it influences their behaviour.

Use by Individuals

The "Values Grid" technique, when completed privately by students or adults, is an effective personal challenge to acknowledge the degree to which one's life is congruent with one's values. If, for example, "helping other people", "physical exercise", "reading", "prayer" or the "imitation of Christ" are one's espoused values, one asks if their practice in one's life fit the seven criteria. If they do not meet these criteria, they may, as yet, be only "pious aspirations" or ideals still unrealized, and the person directs reflection to ways of matching her/his behaviour with stated values.

Classroom Use

In using this technique in a classroom or group context, pupils complete their own Values Grids privately. They are instructed to investigate "values" which they would not fear to have used as the basis of group discussion. Alternatively, they may wish to "pass", should they feel their privacy threatened. It is insisted that trained teachers of the Values Clarification methodology should develop an atmosphere of trust and of respect for the feelings of others. Exercising one's freedom to abstain is regarded as part of the process of growing in self-confidence and in respect for oneself and for others.

When the Values Grid is complete, valuable personal and social development derives from the interaction of individuals in small groups (4 - 5 persons) who share their reasons, feelings, reservations and convictions. At this point, no judgments are passed, and no arguments entered into as to whether the individual should or should not hold these values. The sole purpose of the exercise is to examine the extent to which various values are freely chosen, prized and acted upon.

Value Indicators

Several other Values Clarification exercises are designed to help people to distinguish their true values from those they believe to be values. The ways we spend time and money are very strong Value Indicators. A person may think that he/she holds "social justice" or "keeping fit" as strong values, yet, when using a check-list to monitor the amount of time or money invested in these, as compared to other activities, the result may raise some questions about whether these "values" are really any more than "ideals" to which the individual would like to aspire.

The above are only two examples of the many Values Clarification techniques which, together, form a pattern of over seventy classroom strategies. The programme can contribute to the development of a sense of self-worth, skills of communication, interpersonal trust and relationship-building - all of which are important personal characteristics and are also basic to moral maturity.

Students are encouraged to talk about their fears, their successes, their hopes, their preferences. Such opportunities to share feelings are immensely valuable for personal development. There are many personal and interpersonal tragedies that can be traced to an inability to express one's feelings. I mention here the misconceptions of some critics who seem to think that Values Clarification encourages moral decisions to be based on feelings. As we saw in the Values Grid, Values are clarified by much rational reflections and self-examination.

Limitations of the Methodology

Having described some techniques of Values Clarification, and their contributions to developing respect for others and for oneself, I should now like to mention two major limitations of Values Clarification.

1. The methodology is open to the accusation of relativism, because it may leave students "dangling" with a set of "clarified values" which, if left unchallenged, may contribute nothing to moral education.
2. I have said that Values Clarification was not intended as anything more than a methodology. Nevertheless, it is difficult, in the real classroom situation, to be comfortable with Sidney Simon's statement: "The teacher shares his/her values, but does not impose them".[10] Lawrence Kohlberg had difficulty with this lack of direction and absence of moral criteria. I often heard him say: "That way you could end up with a class of little Hitlers all "choosing", "prizing", and "acting upon" the clarified values of maintaining the supremacy of the German race".[11]

However, I want to set the balance right by saying that other Values Clarification colleagues took up where Sidney Simon left off in 1979. During the following year B.P. Hall wrote:

> There are, in the author's opinion, two values which are considered to be primary. The first would be "self value" and the second would be the "value of others". The value of God or the quality of adoration would be of primary value for religious people. Unless an individual values her/himself, she/he will assume a defensive

> and destructive stance in interacting with the environment. Similarly, unless an individual has a degree of value towards others, his/her approach to relationships will be manipulatory and controlling. His/her interpersonal relationships will allow for few if any opportunities for love and mutual exchange ... unless religious people develop their relationship with God, life loses meaning. 12

Values Clarification As A Learning Process

The key question for teachers is: How do we help young people to move beyond clarification to choose values that are moral (in keeping with justice) or, in religion class, that are in keeping with religious criteria?

First, it is evident to teachers, that the earlier in school life such criteria for moral behaviour are established, the better. Thus, ideally, the criteria of respect for others and for self should be established as part of the publicly-named and owned value system of the school, being clearly spelt out in the school philosophy, students' handbooks, and school rules.

Then, I suggest that the Values Grid be extended so as to include three extra criteria for specifically moral and religious values. If, for example, in religious class certain values are being "tested" as corresponding to one's religious affiliation, then the last category "God" would be the framework within which discussion would develop about whether one's values correspond to what one understood to be in keeping with God's law.

These three additional criteria require more elaborated illustration than is possible in this paper. However, I introduce them to indicate how a teacher who understands the methodology can develop it further, and use it as a technique for examining reasons why certain choices may or may not conform to moral and religious criteria.

CONCLUSION

1. In summary, what I have attempted to do in this paper is to highlight the importance of moral education as the responsibility of all teachers on a school staff.

2. I have indicated that values clarification is a methodology that gives opportunities for personal and moral development, by helping young people to be clear about their values and why they hold them, by helping them to grow in self-esteem, in respect for others, and in accepting differences in other people's points of view.

3. Lastly, I have given just one example of how the values clarification methodology may be taken one step further by setting up criteria to judge the validity of moral value choices, and so ensure that these choices are consistent with basic objective moral and religious principles.

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TRAVELLER PEOPLE AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Tomás O Briain

In the Summer of 1985 I interviewed a number of adult travellers. My purpose was to ascertain their views on educational provision. I had had contact with travellers over many years and in conversation with some I heard them express dissatisfaction with many aspects of state social policy and in particular its educational policy. It was not the case that all disagreed with the various manifestations of this social policy, in fact there were many who would give their support and encouragement especially to the educational provision: but many of those who disagreed with the activity of the state had sound rational arguments to support their point of view.

The interviews I conducted were exclusively only with those with whom I had some rapport and indeed acquaintance and in some cases a reasonably long friendship. My purpose was to hear what they had to say on educational affairs and to compare with educational policy towards the travellers. The results are reported in my M.Ed. thesis 'The Education of Travellers Reviewed'.[1]

THE GROUP

The great majority of the group interviewed in this survey (91.7%) were 25 years of age or under at the time of interview and two-thirds of them were under twenty-one years. The youngest was seventeen and the oldest twice that age. All, except two (8.3%), were of schoolgoing age or younger in 1970, when the Department of Education published its policy document Educational Facilities for the Children of Itinerants.[2] These two had not been to school but were parents of schoolgoing children.

Only three were living in houses, in fact two of them were but recently housed. The majority could be classed as belonging to the traveller community with regard to their accommodation as well as by heritage. Fourteen lived in caravans or trailers on unapproved sites and seven lived in tigeens or chalets on authorised sites.

LENGTH OF TIME IN SCHOOL

There was some difficulty in establishing the length of time spent in school by some of the respondents. The stated durations went from three months to ten years. Twenty out of the twenty-four spent less than the eight years required by law in compulsory education. The average duration of schooling was 3.85 years for the group. But this number cannot be considered an accurate one as many people in the group had difficulty in estimating the length of their schooling because it was so broken and lacked continuity and regularity.

For many as well the years spent in school were often interrupted as the family moved to other locations. The Primary School System here is not well geared to cater for pupils who move from school to school. In theory, at least, primary schools follow a pupil-centred curriculum but its practice is not as universal as might be desired. For the child who changes from one school to another the move can often cause emotional and social problems, as well as contribute to other educational difficulties. For the child whose lifestyle is different from that of the other pupils these difficulties can be greater. Of the twenty-two who had been to school in the group surveyed fourteen had been in more than one school and nine stated they had been to three or more schools.

The combination of these two factors, a shortened period in school and changing schools does not contribute to educational success, particularly to what is popularly deemed sucess. Difficulties arise because of the travellers' nomadic lifestyle and the environmental forces at work on this lifestyle on the one hand, and on the other the nature of primary schooling.

Four of those in the survey attended school more in the fashion of the majority of primary school children. One of these went to a special school for travellers only for six years and the other three went to local primary schools for eight or more years.

As Reiss[3] noted there is a scarcity of reliable literature and data on travellers and even less on their education. The difficulty in taking an accurate census of travellers is documented.[4] However, various reports[5] indicate that about 50 per cent of traveller children of schoolgoing age are enrolled in school in this country at the present time. It is not clear from these reports, however, what this 50 per cent signifies. Does it suggest that the other half of the population has never been enrolled in school? Is it correct to infer that the half which is enrolled consists of children who follow a normal routine in school attendance? How long do these children remain in school? What this study indicates is that a number of those enrolling in school have broken attendance records. Mary O'Gara[6] sees attendance figures of the children in her Galway study to be a cause of concern. The INTO Tallaght Report[7] shows very poor

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attendances with one special class attendance as low as 48 per cent for the October-December term 1983.

Of course education is viewed in different ways by different people and travellers have their own requirements from the educational system.[8] But irregular attendances are a feature of many travellers' schooling and continuous attendance is expected within the school system.

It is common practice to suggest that the cause of such irregular schooling is the nomadic nature of the traveller lifestyle. There is no doubt that it is one of the major factors in the broken pattern of the school attendance of many traveller children. But there are other factors as well.

Travellers have their own traditional way of educating children in preparation for their way of life. It might be deemed preparation by doing, as the growing child gradually becomes involved in the work of the family. Many travellers see little or no relevance of school in this preparation. Indeed many travellers see school removing the child from the opportunities to prepare for life.

Attitudes to the rearing of children are different among many travellers to those which are considered to be the norm among settled communities. There is the reluctance of parents to be parted from young children so that when children are permitted to attend school they are frequently six or seven years of age rather than the four or five years that is common among the majority population.

The traveller reaches adult status at a much earlier age. There is a marked difference in the treatment of children after they reach twelve or thirteen years of age. The mother has less control over the boys after they reach that age than she had before then. Traditionally the boys are more involved in the work done by the father after the age of twelve than they were previously. Fewer travellers attend school in their teens because school is seen as a place where children go.

This later start of school and the earlier arrival of adult status may explain why the average length of schooling in this group is less than four years. It does not explain why the educational authorities have done so little to cater for such a lifestyle. Much has been done to provide school places and to provide transport to these places. It could be argued that these provisions arise because of the rehabilitation or assimilation policy followed by the state organisations. There has been no attempt to bring primary schooling to the travellers even as an intermediate step. The shorter time span and the irregular attendance of many travellers in school demand particular and immediate attention.

When asked if they thought that traveller children should attend school there was universal agreement among the members of the group interviewed that the children should go to school. The majority gave a categorical affirmative, three gave a qualified 'yes'. This qualification by two of the group was that they should attend if they so wished. This is not such a large number to warrant attention when considered in the context of the group surveyed here. But it reflects what many traveller adults practise regarding their children's school attendance.

While most traveller parents indicate that they wish their children to go to school it is not uncommon to hear them give as a reason for their children's absences from school that the child did not want to go. They often leave the choice of going or not going to school to the children themselves. This more often occurs in the case of older children when they reach the age of ten or eleven than with younger ones, but it is not too uncommon with the latter group either.

The establishment of Junior Training Centres by the Department of Education in recent years is an attempt to extend the period of schooling for traveller children to fifteen years of age and to bridge the gap between the time many travellers terminate their schooling and the minimum entry age for the Training Centres. None of the group interviewed had any experience of Junior Training Centres as these Junior Centres are recently established and were not available to most of the group.

The third person who qualified his reply gave as a reason the necessity for children to augment the family income particularly at specific times of the year. This situation arises among the majority population as well, witness the number of young paper sellers one encounters on city roads, for example. All in all, however, there was unanimous acceptance of the necessity for schooling for the young traveller.

It is official[9] policy that, as far as possible, travellers should be educated with settled children, that they should attend the same schools and be in the same classes. The majority of those surveyed had the same wish. Twenty-one thought that travellers should be in the same class with settled children.

For many the school for the settled children offered better prospects for two reasons (a) the better learning-teaching milieu thought to be in these schools and (b) the assumed tendency to disrupt classes if travellers are grouped together.

Some had reservations on travellers going to the ordinary primary school. These reservations arose from a fear of discrimination, from a feeling of being treated as inferior either by the teachers or their fellow pupils. As one said:

> I wouldn't like to see travelling children going to settled schools if they get the same kind of treatment and education I got and the way I got it.

Some of those in the survey had pleasant recollections of the relationships with the non-traveller members of the classes they attended while in school. For these life in school appears to have been as normal as it is for the majority of schoolgoers.

Others had less happy memories. One must remember that where prejudice is experienced it can have a number of origins. Traditionally there has been a degree of suspicion in each community towards the other. The traveller child coming into the school community is aware, though not necessarily with explicit awareness, of a different lifestyle in the other members of the class group. The traveller child may have experienced, on occasions, antagonism from the settled population. The necessity to move camp, often at short notice because of pressure from the larger community, would help predispose the consciousness of the young child to a sense of difference.

The later arrival of the traveller child to the class grouping would often have a negative impact as well. The traveller child frequently joins a class some years after its formation. It is not uncommon for travellers to begin school at about seven years of age while the norm is four to five years for the majority of settled children. Thus the traveller is joining a class when relationships are rooting. The later the traveller joins the class the more difficult to gain access to one of the friendship groups. The mantle of acceptance by one of the friendship groups often acts as a buffer to its members against many of the conflicts in the school. Loners are more likely to suffer at the hands, or from the words, of others than those who have friends. Most newcomers to a class group make friends with others, but if the time is not sufficient for space to be made for the newcomer, if that newcomer leaves too soon, then the impression is taken away of an unfriendly environment, which is carried to the next school contact.

The tone of most of the interviews indicate a desire for the type of school provision that leaves the traveller with dignity and self-esteem. Unfortunately many in the group have had experiences in school that contributed little to the Constitution's ideal of equality for all. Some expressed resentment for the practice of washing the child on arrival at school in the morning. In other cases there was dissatisfaction with being allowed to do what they liked in class rather than being taught. There was the recognition of an unwillingness or inability on the part of some teachers to control the traveller child. There were reports of being put to the back of the class or to one side. Another regretted that her teacher never found it possible to encourage her while she could could see the encouragement being given to others in her class. One

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traveller reported that his class, a special class, had always to give way to any other class which they met in the school building. Yet another said that it was always the travellers who were accused if any thieving occurred in class. There is evidence that many travellers have experienced what can only be described as prejudice towards them in school, both from the adults and their peers in the school.

Not all reported similar experiences. Some had what could be described as a normal school history. Despite the adverse experiences of some most of them desired to be educated with the majority population.

It is well to remember what writers [10] have to say about the perception of a minority group to receiving a different type of education from that provided for the majority population. Frequently, different or special educational facilities can be deemed inferior in such circumstances.

What conclusions should one draw from these views of the preferred school type? Clearly travellers desire the best educational system for their children. For many of the people interviewed that best seems to be in the ordinary national school. However, for many of them this was not what they had themselves experienced and, indeed had no wish that other members of their community should replicate their experience in school. What they desire is a type of schooling that measures up to the standards of the majority community which treats the traveller pupil with equality and with dignity. While equipping the traveller with the means of successfully living a life according to the ratings of the majority population, the school must not deprive that same traveller of self-respect or undermine the traveller way of life. Some of the group would be content with successful entry into the settled way of life but not all. Some others would wish to continue the traveller way.

THE GOOD SCHOOL

The teacher is a key figure in fostering fruitful school experiences. Thirteen (52.2 per cent) of those interviewed in this survey saw the teacher as being most responsible for nurturing good classroom experiences for the young traveller pupil. The teacher must display no prejudice towards the pupils in the class. The teacher must strive to understand the traveller pupil and the traveller lifestyle. One could argue the necessity of the teacher learning from the pupils at the same time that he or she is teaching them in order not to make the same mistakes that are repeated in the education of traveller children. Some travellers could compare teachers in this respect.

The teacher is seen by many to be in a position to diminish any prejudice that may arise among other pupils in a class. It is the teacher who can influence other pupils as to the way they communicate with the traveller. The teacher can modify prejudice not just by saying, but by doing or not doing and by the way he or she thinks about the traveller. One of those interviewed noted that her teacher never encouraged any of the travellers to aspire to any of the professional or vocational occupations, yet she witnessed the same teacher directing other pupils' aspirations in these directions.

The control the teacher has in the classroom was considered to be an important element in travellers achieving success in school. In the experience of some of the group the teacher could not or would not assert authority in the classroom. This was indicative, for some of the lack of interest in their welfare, for others, lack of knowledge of their lifestyle. The net result was time wasted, as the travellers felt they had achieved less than they were capable of achieving.

A tale was told by one of those interviewed, not about himself but about his brother. The brother had attended an ordinary national school in the ordinary classes for a number of years and because of severe reading problems he was referred for assessment which in the first instance called for reading from the eye chart which he was unable to read. He was referred to Clinic which endeavoured to persuade his mother that he should go to a special school. The mother refused. Later in life he learned to read in a Training Centre. It is not too uncommon to hear of a pattern of events like the following.

A traveller child enrols in a national school and joins an ordinary class. After some time in class the child is sent for psychological assessment because he or she is seen to be behind the class in attainment or (and possibly as a consequence) is causing disruption in class. After assessment the child is sent to a special class for slow learners or to a class for emotionally disturbed children. So while it is official policy to integrate traveller children into ordinary schools, many of them find their way into special schools or classes of one kind or another. Traveller parents wishing to send their children, not to a special traveller class, but to the ordinary national school often find they are channelled into a special class anyway.

CONCLUSION

I do not wish to say that the group I interviewed are representative of the whole traveller population or the schooling they receive. But they represent some of the traveller community and what they have to say deserves a response.

There seems to be a tendency for one reason or another to cater within the primary and secondary areas of Irish Education only for those travellers whose lifestyle fits more into what might be classified as the settled way of life than the more traditional traveller way. Many excuses can be offered for this state of affairs but at the root of it must be an inability to respond to a differing lifestyle or an unwillingness to do so.

When one examines the two major Official Reports of the Government[11] and the Department of Education Policy document on the Education of Travellers one fails to find a discussion of the different lifestyle and its cultural context. The 1963 Report established absorption or rehabilitation as the main plank of official policy and while the terminology may have changed the thought and effort remains essentially the same.

Failure to consider traveller culture must be seen as a major deficiency in official policy. There has been the tendency to view the traveller community as dropouts of the main population and consequently policy has tended to have a rehabilitation aspect. From the foundation of the State there has been a policy to cater for religious and cultural minorities in education. This has not been extended to travellers and one can only assume that it is because travellers are not seen to be culturally different. The only educational provision for travellers has been in those whose lifestyle allows them to cross into the settled community for their schooling. Any educational failure that has arisen from this policy is laid at the feet of travellers and their lifestyle and there has been no official admission that the educational provision itself might be inappropriate or in anyway defective.

What is necessary is that the cultural differences be recognised and that provision be made that caters for and positively encourages that culture. Expressions of good intention towards the travellers have been made by the authorities on numerous occasions and one must assume that these expressions are sincere and genuine. One hopes that this good intention would not balk at an acceptance of a distinction between the culture of the travellers and the cultures of the majority population.

This failure to recognise the cultural differences and to make provision for them has contributed to prejudicial experiences for the traveller in the school. The curriculum does little to encourage the traveller lifestyle and regrettably does much to belittle it. For many a young traveller the school environment is one to be distrusted and feared. There is a grave need to create conditions where the traveller can find acceptance and a prerequisite for this must surely be the clear recognition of the cultural distinctions that exist.

School provision that grows from a proper awareness of cultural distinction would do much to encourage school attendance and school success by the traveller. Such provision might differ considerably from the type of schooling we are accustomed to but such difference cannot be a reason for not providing for the need.

The education of travellers, indeed their general welfare, would be greatly enhanced by a comprehensive and adequately funded research into the history and culture of the Irish Traveller. There has been some valuable work done already but it appears to have been ignored by the agencies of State and as long as the educational system in particular, persists in not giving due recognition and positive support to the travellers' cultural distinction then, not only the Irish Traveller, but also the Irish Educational System will be losers. A system of education to be effective must be interactive, it must be capable of being influenced by those it wishes to influence. Being unaware of the other culture, or worse, denying its existence, is hardly the best disposition to being influenced by it. The Irish Primary School System declares itself to be child-centred; futhermore it places special emphasis on all children as complex human beings and on each child as an individual.[12] A failure to consider the special educational needs of travellers can scarcely be pardoned.

To make such an educational change as is called for here, a political decision would be necessary. The time is now opportune for such a decision with expressions of goodwill and declarations of intention from all political parties to settle the traveller 'problem'. Not to take that political initiative is to continue the policy of assimilation or absorption with the consequential demise of our traveller people.

Without some outside force it is very improbable that that political decision would be taken in the immediate future especially so soon after the Review Body has delivered its Report. Efforts have been made by some travellers, who themselves are becoming increasingly aware of the relevance of cultural issues to their future, to influence other groups, particularly in the trade union movement, in order to lobby the politicians with them and on their behalf. Resources, and funds in particular, are scarce and progress is accordingly slow, but the fact that the travellers themselves are promoting such ideas and are gaining support from outside groups augurs for eventual success. The Primary Teachers' Union, the INTO, passed a very comprehensive motion at its Annual Congress in 1986[13] on the Education of Traveller Children, part of which demanded that the Department of Education establish adequate facilities for the children of traveller people who remain nomadic and that:

> such schooling facilities recognise the distinctive culture of the traveller people.

An educational system that positively values the traveller pupils in its care and which has a sympathetic understanding of their history and culture would do much to develop and foster self-esteem in a people with a tradition of being oppressed and victimised. Such a school input would be a major contributor to the ideal of integration that purports to be the official State policy with regard to the traveller people.

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